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THE VOYAGES

OF

PEDRO FERNANDEZ DE QUIROS,

1595 TO 1606.

SECOND SERIES.

No. XIV.

THE VOYAGES

OF

PEDRO FERNANDEZ DE QUIROS,

1595 TO 1606.

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Translated and Edited

BY

SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM,

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PRESIDENT OF THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

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DEDICATION.

TO

COMMANDER ROBERT FALCON SCOTT, R.N.,

M.V.O., F.R.G.S.;

LEADER OF THE NATIONAL ANTARCTIC EXPEDITION, 1901 TO 1904.

MY DEAR SCOTT,

I dedicate this translation of the Voyages of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros to you, because the efforts and aspirations of the first navigator who ever conceived the idea of discovering the Antarctic continent cannot fail to have an interest for you who have actually made such great discoveries in the Far South; as a tribute also of admiration for your great qualities as a leader, and of affectionate regard for yourself.

Believe me to be ever, my dear Scott,

Your attached friend and well-wisher,

CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Council of the Hakluyt Society has decided that the volumes containing the narratives of the discovery of the Solomon Islands by Mendaña shall be followed by a monograph on the two voyages of Quiros. In the first voyage he was Chief Pilot to Mendaña; the second and most famous voyage was under his own command.

The best and most detailed narrative of both voyages is contained in a work which remained in manuscript until twenty-eight years ago, when it was edited and published at Madrid by Don Justo Zaragoza. It is entitled *History of the Discovery of the Austrial Regions, made by the General Pedro Fernandez de Quiros.*[1] Two copies were known to be in existence: one in the private library of the King of Spain, the other in that of the Ministry of Marine. Both have erroneous titles, written by careless librarians. The narratives were evidently dictated by Quiros, or written from his notes; but Señor Zaragoza gives reasons for the belief that the work, in its present form, was written by Luis de Belmonte Bermudez, a young man who was Secretary to Quiros during the voyage of 1606, and that

[1] *Historia del descubrimiento de las regiones Austriales hecho por el General Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, publicada por Don Justo Zaragoza* (3 vols. Madrid, 1876.)

it contains several passages for which the Secretary was alone responsible. Belmonte Bermudez remained faithful to Quiros in his adversity, and, after his master's death, he became a poet of some celebrity. Señor Zaragoza quotes several passages which show the hand of a poet.[1] There is also a quotation from the *Araucana* of Ercilla on unknown lands not yet revealed by God, to which is added another version by the young sailor-poet on those unknown lands now revealed by God.[2]

The author is mentioned twice in the narrative: once as being nearly drowned in landing on the island of Anaa[3] ("Conversion de San Pablo"), and again in the list of officials for the municipality of the city of New Jerusalem projected by Quiros.[4] The question of authorship is really settled by the poet himself, in a line of his poem entitled *La Hispalica*, quoted by Zaragoza. Speaking of Quiros as his "Lusitanian master, the star of gallant Portuguese," he adds that, in recording the history of the voyage there was:—

"Want of a writer, which I supplied."

The *Historia*, as published by Zaragoza, is continuous in eighty-one chapters. It has been found more convenient to divide the translation into two parts: the first containing the second voyage of Mendaña, and the second part being the story of the voyage of Quiros in 1606.

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[1] One in the early part of the second voyage of Mendaña, where he compares the importance and influence of small things to stars of unequal sizes (see p. 5); and other passages, though written in prose are really in verse, in the Spanish. Such is the passage describing the reappearance of the *Almiranta* after being out of sight (p. 192); the description of a visit made by natives to the Spanish ships (p. 210); and, again, when the *Almiranta* stood out to sea (p. 212). The description of Quiros on a bed of sickness at the mercy of his Pilots is really in verse in the Spanish (p. 280); and the reasons given by Quiros for not punishing mutineers may be those of the leader of the expedition, but the words are certainly those of his poetical Secretary.

[2] See p. 262.

[3] See pp. 200 and 418.

[4] See pp. 254 and 383.

The present volume commences with the first part of the *History of the Discovery of the Austrial Regions.* It describes the second voyage of Mendaña in much detail, including the discovery of the Marquesas Islands and of the island of Santa Cruz, the death of Mendaña, and the terrible passage from Santa Cruz to Manilla. It is certainly a most extraordinary story.

In the work entitled *Hechos del Marques de Cañete*, a life of one of the Viceroys of Peru, by Cristoval Suarez de Figueroa,[1] Book VI contains an abbreviated version of the narrative in the *Historia*, generally copied word for word. Numerous details are omitted, particularly such as are derogatory to the Spanish character. There are also a few passages which are not in the *Historia*, but none having any bearing on the events of the voyage. Suarez de Figueroa tells us that he had the narrative of Quiros before him as he wrote. For these reasons I have considered it unnecessary to translate the version of Suarez de Figueroa, as it is merely a mutilated version of the narrative in the *Historia.* The account in the work of Suarez de Figueroa was the only version of the second voyage of Mendaña that was known to our historians of Pacific voyages, Dalrymple and Burney.

There is a short report of the second voyage of Mendaña, to Antonio de Morga, the Governor of the Philippines, by Quiros himself. It was translated and printed by Lord Stanley of Alderley, in his edition of the work of Antonio de Morga (*Hakluyt Society*, 1868). I have caused it to be reprinted in this volume, in order to make the monograph of Quiros complete.

For the voyage of Quiros in 1606, when he discovered

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[1] I have given an account of Suarez de Figueroa and of his works in a footnote to my translation of the Spanish account of the capture of Sir Richard Hawkins, also taken from the *Hechos del Marques de Cañete.*

the Duff and Banks groups of islands, and the New Hebrides, there are no less than four separate accounts.

The first, and by far the most important, forms the second part of the *Historia del descubrimiento de las regiones Austriales*, by Belmonte Bermudez. It contains the full narrative, the speeches and reflections of Quiros, as recorded by his Secretary, and the remarks of the poet himself. The royal orders, the curious and interesting instructions of Quiros to his Captains, the act of possession and other strange proceedings at Espiritu Santo, the half-allegorical will of Quiros, and other documents, are included.

The second narrative is by Gaspar Gonzalez de Leza, the Chief Pilot of the *Capitana* with Quiros. For the most part it is merely a log, with courses, distances run, winds, and latitudes for each day, with occasional calculations of the distance from Callao. But it also contains accounts of the visits to the newly-discovered islands, and some remarks of interest, which may be compared with the same events described by Quiros, and in the work of Torquemada. The manuscript is in the Royal Library at Madrid (J. 2); and Lord Stanley of Alderley quoted largely from it, in annotating the letter of Torres. But it was first printed by Zaragoza.

The third narrative is contained in the *Monarquia Indiana*, a work on Mexico first published in 1614, by the Franciscan Friar, Juan de Torquemada, who was Provincial of the Order in Mexico in that year (vol. i, pp. 738 to 756 the second edition, 1723) (Lib. v, caps. lxiv to lxix). Torquemada was at Mexico when Quiros and his companions landed at Acapulco, and came up to the capital in the end of 1606. He must have known and conversed both with Quiros and with some of his crew. He thus obtained his information at first hand, and was able to write an authentic account of the voyage. Torquemada's style is

more polished and flowing than those of the sailors, or even of the young poet, who relate the events of the same voyage.[1]

The fourth narrative is contained in a letter from the second in command, Luis Vaez de Torres, to the King. This letter briefly describes the whole voyage; but it is specially interesting when it relates the events after parting company with Quiros. For Torres, on his voyage from Espiritu Santo to Ternate, was the discoverer of the strait which bears his name. Dalrymple obtained a copy of the letter of Torres, and translated it. This translation was, with the permission of Dalrymple, first published by Burney. Mr. Major reprinted it in his volume of *Early Voyages to Australia* (Hakluyt Soc., 1859). Lord Stanley of Alderley found another copy in the National Library at Madrid (J. 2), and translated it as Appendix VI of his edition of the work on the Philippines, by Antonio de Morga (p. 402, Hakluyt Soc., 1868). This is a copy of a document mentioned by Navarrete as existing at Simancas. Ever loyal to his chief, though disapproving of his conduct of the expedition, Torres wrote another letter to Quiros.

[1] Quiros was devoted to the Franciscans, and had several in his fleet. Torquemada was Provincial of the Order in Mexico. At a later date, two historians of the Order of St. Francis in Peru gave accounts of the voyage, quoting from Torquemada, and without any other original sources of information. One was Fray Antonio Daza, who wrote *Cronica General de la Orden de San Francisco*. The other is a folio with double columns: *Cronica de la religiosissima provincia de la Orden de San Francisco de la regular observancia compuesta por el R.P. Fray Diego de Cordova, Salinas* (1651). This work is very rare. There is no copy in the British Museum. There was one in the Library at Lima. Cordova gives a brief account of the voyage of Quiros, copying from Torquemada. Neither of these Franciscan historians, writing in Peru many years afterwards, are of any authority on the voyage of Quiros beyond what they derive from Torquemada. Daza, however, gives the Act of Possession at Espiritu Santo, which is not quoted in full by Torquemada (see p. 444). Antonio de Ulloa, in his *Resumen*, quotes from Cordova respecting an island discovered in 28° S. by Quiros, but the quotation is not correct. It is referred to by Mr. Major in his *Early Voyages to Australia*, p. lxxii. Mr. Major had never seen the work of Cordova.

The letter of Torres has such an important bearing on the voyage of Quiros, that I have considered it indispensable to include it in the present volumes.

The Memorials of Quiros, and other documents in the Appendix, will be described further on. They complete the materials for a monograph of the famous navigator's work and life.

I now propose to state all that I have been able to ascertain respecting his life; and to discuss his character, his attainments, his views and aspirations, and the position his voyages occupy in the history of maritime discovery.

Pedro Fernandez de Quiros was born at Evora[1], in Portugal, in 1565, the year before Mendaña sailed on his first voyage. The ill-fated Don Sebastian was then King of Portugal. His uncle, the Cardinal Henry, became King in 1578; but in 1580 Philip II, the Cardinal's nephew, succeeded as King of Portugal, as well as of Spain. Quiros, though a Portuguese, then became a subject of the King of Spain, his age being fifteen. We are told, though an enemy is our informant,[2] that young Quiros was brought up in the "Rua nova," then a disreputable part of Lisbon, and that he was a clerk or supercargo in merchant ships. This may or may not be true. He certainly became a good sailor, and an accomplished pilot.

In 1589, when he had reached his twenty-fourth year, he had probably been several years at sea. He then married Doña Ana Chacon, of Madrid, daughter of the licentiate Juan Quevedo de Miranda, by Ana Chacon de Miranda. She was a year his senior. A son, named Francisco, was born to them in 1590, and they must then have gone to Peru; for their daughter Jeronima was born some

[1] See Antonio (Nic.), *Bibliotheca Hispana vetus et nova, sive Hispanicorum scriptorum.*

[2] Diego de Prado y Tobar (see p. 513).

months after Quiros sailed from Peru with Mendaña in 1595.[1]

Quiros was thirty years of age when he accepted the post of Chief Pilot in the ship of Alvaro de Mendaña, who had received a concession to colonise the Solomon Islands, which he had discovered thirty years before. Quiros joined this expedition with some misgivings, caused by the quarrelsome character of the Camp Master, the want of order and discipline, and the position assumed by the Commander's wife and her brothers. Mendaña was more than twenty years older than Quiros. The Pilot's position was one of some difficulty: for while on one side he had to exercise tact in his intercourse with the family clique, on the other he found it difficult to avoid friction with a most impracticable and quarrelsome old soldier who was Camp Master, and who had a feud with the brothers-in-law of Mendaña, which continued to increase in bitterness. The expedition culminated at the island of Santa Cruz, a new discovery, with the slaughter of the old Camp Master, the deaths of Mendaña and his brother-in-law Don Lorenzo, the succession of the widow, Doña Isabel, to the command of the expedition, and the disastrous voyage to Manilla.

Through all this intrigue and violence the Chief Pilot steered his course with prudence and caution. He was a reliable seaman, and was constantly consulted. He appears, from his own account, to have been a peacemaker, to have avoided quarrels, and to have had some influence. He was, however, a great talker. The widow did not like him, but she was obliged to rely upon him entirely. Her brothers were useless. Quiros stood between the widow's

[1] These particulars are gathered from the information given and recorded, when Quiros and his family sailed for Peru in 1615. "Informaciones presentados por el Capitan Pedro Fernandez de Quiros para paser a las Indias con su mujer y hijos, en la casa de contratacion de Sevilla, 24 Marzo, 1615" (*Archivo de Indias*), referred to by Zaragoza, vol. iii, p. 79 (*n*). Marriage and ages of wife and children are given.

selfish parsimony and a crew on the verge of mutiny from misery and starvation. He brought a sinking ship, with rotten spars and rigging, safely over an unknown sea from Santa Cruz to Manilla.

It was during this voyage, and while gaining experience in the navigation of the Pacific Ocean and the treatment of natives, that Quiros conceived his grand project. He was a cartographer, and, in studying existing maps, he saw a great Southern continent extending across the ocean, from the Strait of Magellan to New Guinea. He thought that here was a discovery as famous as had been made by Columbus or Da Gama. He thought that here was not only a great continent extending to the South Pole to be added to the dominions of his sovereign, but millions of souls to be saved and brought within the fold of the Church. He devoted his life to the realisation of this glorious dream with unswerving devotion, never turning aside to the right hand or to the left; undaunted by difficulties or wearisome delays to his dying day; literally killed by Councils and Committees; but succumbing only with his last breath. He became a man with one idea. Alas! he was but a dreamer.

It was a dream. The heroic days of Spain and Portugal were passed and gone. Quiros was the last of the long and glorious roll of great Spanish navigators. He spoke, if not to stone-deaf ears, to fast-deafening ears. The Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco,[1] at Lima, to whom Quiros

[1] Don Luis de Velasco, Viceroy of Peru from 1596 to 1604, was the son of a distinguished father of the same names, of the family of the Constables of Castille. The father was the second Viceroy of Mexico. He sent an expedition to Florida, and another to the Philippines under Miguel Lopez de Legaspé. The elder Don Luis died at Mexico, where his son was born in 1555. The younger Don Luis de Velasco was Governor of Cempoala, and proceeding to Spain, was appointed by Philip II Ambassador at Florence. In 1590 he became Viceroy of Mexico, and in 1595 Viceroy of Peru. In January, 1604, he returned to Mexico, and lived there privately for three years. He was

first explained his project, would take no responsibility, and referred him to the Court of Spain and its Councils of State and of the Indies. It was a happy inspiration which led Quiros to go first to Rome, and interest the Pope in the conversion of millions of Antarctic souls; for nothing was more likely to induce the Spanish Government to move in the matter than a strong recommendation, which would be looked upon almost as a command, from the Supreme Pontiff. Quiros was himself a very religious man, deeply imbued with the superstitions of his time and nation.

When Quiros arrived at Rome, the Duke of Sesa, a descendant of the Great Captain, was Spanish Ambassador. The Pope was a scion of the noble Roman family of Aldobrandini, and had succeeded, as Clement VIII, in 1592.

The Duke of Sesa received Quiros well on his arrival at Rome, made him a member of his household, and was so much interested in his project that he assembled all the most eminent astronomers and geographers in the Eternal City to examine and report to him upon it. Among these experts there was a mathematician of the first rank. Christopher Clavio was born at Bamberg in 1537, and taught mathematics at Rome for twenty years. He corrected the calendar for Gregory XIII, and published his *Calendarii Romani Gregoriani Explicatio* in 1603. He had previously been the author of a work entitled *Gnomonices*, and of an edition of *Euclid*. The other advisers of the Duke were Dr. Mesa and Dr. Toribio Perez, who had been Professors of Geography at Salamanca, and a learned Jesuit named Villalpando.

The authority of Clavio cannot be gainsaid. He found

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appointed Viceroy of Mexico a second time in 1607, and was created Marquis of Salinas. In 1611 he became President of the Council of the Indies, serving in that post until his death in 1616.

Quiros to be an accomplished Pilot and cartographer, and the inventor or improver of two nautical instruments. The Duke of Sesa was satisfied by Clavio and the other experts of the capacity of Quiros as a navigator, and of the importance of his project. He, therefore, introduced him to the Pope, and both Clement VIII and the Duke gave him letters of recommendation to the Spanish Government.

Philip III had succeeded his father in 1598 as King of Spain and Portugal. He found the country utterly ruined, and commerce nearly dead. Yet he continued the same fatal policy. He confided the management of affairs to the Duke of Lerma, a man well known to readers of *Gil Blas*, and the extravagance of the Court helped to lead Spain downwards on the road to decadence and ruin.

Quiros arrived at Madrid with his credentials in the spring of 1602, and had interviews with Philip III, and with his Minister, the Duke of Lerma. The Pope's influence secured his success. Within a year he had obtained a royal order, through the Council of State, addressed to the Viceroy of Peru, instructing that dignitary to fit out two ships at Callao, to enable Quiros to undertake an expedition for the discovery of the Antarctic continent.

Quiros sailed for Peru in the summer of 1603. He seems to have left his family in Spain. He was shipwrecked near the Island of Curaçoa, in the West Indies, and had to pass some time at Caraccas. Here he found the orphan children of a brother, of whom he had not heard for many years, living with their maternal grandfather: two boys and a girl. He thought it right to take the two nephews with him, leaving the niece with her grandfather. One of the nephews is not heard of again. The other, Lucas de Quiros, was his uncle's companion in the voyage of 1606.

He was Royal Ensign for the ceremonies at Espiritu Santo. He is afterwards heard of as a rising cartographer at Lima.[1]

Quiros arrived at Lima quite destitute, owing to the refusal of the royal officials on the route to give him any pecuniary assistance, although they had positive orders to do so. He found shelter in the house of a potter; and it was some days before he could get an audience of the Count of Monterey,[2] who was then Viceroy of Peru. Eventually, the Viceroy recognised the necessity for carrying out the royal orders. Vessels were tardily bought and fitted out at Callao, for the expedition of Quiros, in the last months of 1605. There were two ships and a *zabra*, or launch. The ship chosen for Quiros was called the *Capitana*, and named *San Pedro y San Pablo*. She was 150 tons. The other ship was called the *Almiranta*, and named the *San Pedro*, 120 tons. Her Captain was known as the Admiral, the title of a second in command in those days. Both ships were built on the west coast, probably at Guayaquil. They carried one hundred and thirty men and six friars. The launch was named *Los Tres Reyes*.

Luis Vaez de Torres, the Admiral or second in command under Quiros, was a good sailor and pilot, an energetic and capable leader, and loyal to his chief. He commanded all the landing parties, and relieved Quiros of much anxiety and trouble. His Chief Pilot in the *Almiranta*, Juan Bernardo de Fuentidueña, and Pedro Bernal de Cermeño,

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[1] *Arca de Noe*, por El Capitan de navio Cesario Fernandez Duro (Madrid, 1881), p. 560. Lucas de Quiros drew a map of the western side of South America, from Cartagena to Magellan's Strait, under the auspices of the Prince of Esquilache, Viceroy of Peru. Lucas is called on it "Cosmógrafo del Peru." The map is drawn on parchment. See also J. de la Espada, *Relacion Geografica*, p. cxl.

[2] Don Gaspar de Zuñiga y Azevedo, Count of Monterey, had been Viceroy of Mexico from 1595 to 1603, and was transferred to Peru to succeed Don Luis de Velasco. He arrived at Lima in very bad health.

in command of the launch, were loyal and capable men. The junior Pilot in the *Capitana*, Gaspar Gonzalez de Leza, afterwards Chief Pilot, was also a reliable officer. Quiros had a cousin with him, one Alonso Alvarez de Castro, as well as a nephew, Lucas de Quiros. But his most faithful and devoted friend was young Luis de Belmonte Bermudez. Born at Seville in about 1585, this youth had gone out to seek his fortune, first in Mexico and then at Lima. Fired by the stories told him of the Araucanian war in distant Chile, he composed a panegyric on the youthful deeds of the Marquis of Cañete, the first product of his muse. When Quiros was fitting out his expedition, Belmonte Bermudez accepted the post of Secretary, taking with him the "Araucana," that noble epic of the soldier-poet, Alonso de Ercilla.

But Quiros also had in his ship men of a very different stamp. Among them was a Chief Pilot named Juan Ochoa de Bilboa, who had been forced upon him as a protégé of the Viceroy;[1] another officer named Diego de Prado y Tovar; and the accountant, Juan de Iturbe. They stirred up mutiny and disaffection on board.

Quiros complained bitterly of the delay in fitting out the expedition, which obliged him to sail so late in the year. He considered that he should have sailed not later than St. Francis, or the 4th of October. He did not obtain his despatch until the 21st of December.

Quiros was now free to attempt the realisation of his dream, the discovery of the Antarctic continent and the annexation of the South Pole. All was left to his discretion. There is no reason for the belief that the Viceroy of Peru gave any instructions beyond the letter of farewell which was read to the men. The plan of Quiros was to

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[1] He had been Pilot of the ship which brought the Count of Monterey from Acapulco to Callao.

steer E.S.E. from Callao until he reached latitude 30° S.,[1] where he fully expected that he would have reached the continental southern land shown on the maps of his time. He continued on this course from December 21st to January 26th, when he found himself in 26° S.

Then Quiros came to the fatal decision to alter course to E.N.E. He says in his narrative that there was a heavy swell, and that he was obliged by the force of the wind and the sea to alter his course. He adds, in one of his memorials, that winter was approaching, that there was a mutinous spirit among his crew, and that he was ill in bed. Torres remonstrated. He wrote: "I gave a declaration under my hand that it was not a thing obvious that we ought to diminish our latitude till we got beyond 30° S." If Quiros had continued on his course, he would have discovered New Zealand, and his dream would have been partly realised.

Having turned away from the goal, his plan was to make for the island of Santa Cruz, discovered when he served as Chief Pilot under Mendaña, and thence to make another attempt southward. But this was a lame conclusion. His chance was gone. Antarctic discovery was left to another nation and another century.

The latitudes recorded by Quiros, Torres, and Leza, and the courses and distances run, enable us to identify the islands discovered by Quiros in crossing the Pacific. The first inhabited island, reached on February 1st, 1606, has been supposed by Burney and others to be Tahiti. It is in the latitude of Tahiti; but it is described as a low island with a large lagoon in the centre, and no fresh water. This could not by any possibility be Tahiti.

[1] Juan de Iturbe says 40°, for which there is no other authority. But Arias, in his Memorial (see p. 528), says that Quiros was advised by Torres and his other companions to go as far as 40° S. Quiros and Torres give 30° as the limit. It was the proposal of Quiros himself, not in any instructions given to him. There were no such instructions.

Sir William Wharton has identified it as Anaa, or Chain Island, one of the Low Archipelago to the eastward of Tahiti.[1] Quiros named it "Conversion de San Pablo," not "Sagittaria," as Burney supposed. With Anaa as a point of departure, the other islands discovered by Quiros are easily identified.[2]

In following the parallel of 10° 20′ S. to reach Santa Cruz, Quiros fortunately came upon Taumaco, the principal island of what is now called the Duff group. Here he found a native Chief, from whom he received such detailed information respecting the existence of islands, and, as was understood, even continental lands to the southward, that the most sanguine hopes appeared to be approaching realisation. The project of going to Santa Cruz was abandoned, and Quiros steered S., fully anticipating the consummation of his dreams of discovery. Nor was he destined to be altogether disappointed. Island after island, all lofty and thickly inhabited, rose above the horizon; and at last he sighted such extensive coast lines that he believed the Southern Continent to be spread out before him. The islands of the New Hebrides group, such as Aurora, Leper, and Pentecost, overlapping each

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[1] *Royal Geographical Society's Journal*, Aug. 1902, vol. xx, p. 207.

[2] La Encarnacion, p. 487 (Luna-puesta, p. 192; Anegada, p. 329), is one of the coral islands of the Dangerous or Low Archipelago, probably *Ducie Island.*

San Juan Bautista, pp. 193, 487 (Sin Puerto, p. 330; San Valerio, p. 456), is *Henderson Island.*

Santelmo, pp. 195, 487, *Marutea*, or *Lord Hood Island.*

Las Cuatro Coronadas, pp. 195, 487 (Las Virgenes, p. 456), *Actæon group.*

San Miguel, pp. 196, 487, *Aburaa Island.*

La Conversion de San Pablo, pp. 204, 487, *Anaa*, or *Chain Island.*

La Decena, pp. 204, 487 (Santa Polonia, p. 456), is *Niau* or *Greig Island.*

La Sagittaria, pp. 204, 487, *Mahatea* or *Aurora Island.*

La Fugitiva, pp. 205, 487, *Matahiva* or *Lazareff Island.*

San Bernardo, pp. 207, 425, 457 (Island of Fish, p. 342).

Peregrino, pp. 217, 487 (Gente Hermosa, p. 431; Matanza, p. 459), "*Genta hermosa*" on modern charts.

other to the S.E., seemed to him to be continuous coast lines, while to the S.W. was the land which he named Austrialia del Espiritu Santo. All appeared to his vivid imagination to be one continuous continental land.

Such was the enthusiastic navigator's belief when his vessels anchored in the port of Vera Cruz, at the southern extreme of the great bay of St. Philip and St. James. He had found the largest island of what Captain Cook named the New Hebrides group, yet not a very large island. He showed his belief by his grandiose proceedings. To us they must now appear very pathetic. There was a ceremony of taking possession, in the names of the Church, of the Pope, and of the King. Quiros took possession of "all this region of the south as far as the Pole, which from this time shall be called Austrialia del Espiritu Santo, with all its dependencies for ever and so long as right exists," in the name of King Philip III. A great city was to be founded and named the New Jerusalem, and its river was to be the Jordan. All the municipal and royal officers were nominated, and a knightly order of "Espiritu Santo" was instituted, subject to confirmation by the King. There were processions, religious dances, high masses and fireworks.

The great navigator had two serious drawbacks in his rejoicing. He was disabled by a serious illness; and the natives, owing to the misconduct of the Spaniards, were persistently hostile. After being at anchor in this port of Vera Cruz for thirty-five days (from the 3rd of May to the 8th of June, 1606), the little fleet sailed, with the object of completing the discovery of the Southern Continent. Then came the catastrophe.

It came on to blow hard from the S.E., with a nasty sea; and it was resolved to return to the anchorage. Late at night Torres brought the *Almiranta* to anchor, and the launch was also safely brought to. Quiros was too ill to

come on deck, the Pilots seem to have lost their heads, were confused between the lights of the other ships and those on shore, and eventually stood out, running before the wind. At dawn they were several leagues to leeward, outside the bay. From the 12th to the 18th they were trying to beat up to the bay, but with topmasts struck it was nearly all leeway. Ships built in Peru would not work to windward: Quiros was in despair. At last, he determined to make for Santa Cruz, which was a rendezvous in the Instructions. But when the latitude of Santa Cruz was reached, there was a consultation. It was resolved to cross the Line, and make for Acapulco: a four months' voyage. Quiros bewailed his position. He had enemies on board. He does not mention any actual mutiny, though his enemy, Prado y Tovar, who must have got his information from the men who remained at Mexico, and perhaps afterwards found their way to the Philippines, makes the assertion.

Quiros consoled himself with the reflection that his return would at least enable him to make known his discoveries, and to urge upon the King and his Councils the importance of completing them. He also felt confidence in Torres, his second in command, who was left behind on board the *Almiranta*, and in his Pilot, Fuentidueña; and with good reason. They were resolute and capable seamen. Quiros hoped that they would continue his discoveries; and he rejoiced when, some years afterwards, he received the news of the successful voyage of Torres.

After waiting for some days for the *Capitana*, Torres continued the voyage by rounding the northern end of Espiritu Santo, and steering a course to the S.W., until he reached a latitude of 21° S.[1] He then altered course to the N., and discovered the bay and islands at the east end

[1] This latitude is only given in the Memorial of Arias. See p. 525.

of New Guinea. In 1613 Diego de Prado y Tovar sent home four maps from Goa, which throw considerable light on the course of Torres's ship. The first map is a very interesting one of the bay of St. Philip and St. James, in Espiritu Santo. The next is a map of a land named "Buenaventura," with many islands. Torres arrived at this land on July 18th, having sailed from the bay of St. Philip and St. James on the 26th of June. "Buenaventura" is Basilisk Island, so named by Captain Moresby, after his ship, in 1873. The bay of San Millan, accurately delilineated by Torres, is Jenkins Bay of Moresby. The port of Santo Toribio of Torres is the China Strait of Moresby.

The third map shows the great bay of San Lorenzo, and the port of Monterey, identified with "l'Orangerie" and "Ile Dufaure" of Bougainville (1768), on the S. coast of New Guinea. The names of Saints given to the bays, capes, and islands, throw light on the dates, for it was usual to give to a cape, bay, or island the name of the Saint on whose day it was discovered. The feast of San Lorenzo is on the 10th of August, the date when Torres arrived in the bay, where he appears to have remained for several days. The fourth map is of the bay of San Pedro de Arlanza, whose feast is on the 18th of October. This bay is identified with the Triton Bay of the Dutch. The four maps have been reproduced for this volume, and the legends on the original large-scale maps are given separately.[1] From Triton Bay, Torres proceeded to Ternate, where he left the launch, and thence continued his course to Manilla. His letters to Quiros and to the King from that place are dated June and July, 1607. From the fact that Diego de Prado y Tovar sent the four maps home in December, 1613, it is supposed that Torres had died in the

[1] See p. 469. There was also a general map of the discoveries of Torres, which is lost.

interval. The letter of Torres was first printed in *Burney's Voyages*, from a copy obtained and translated by Dalrymple, who suggested the name of Torres Strait for the principal discovery of that navigator. The Spanish Government jealously concealed the knowledge acquired by their great explorers, and left their noble deeds in oblivion. It was left to Englishmen to immortalise the names of Quiros and Torres, whose achievements were so long forgotten by their own countrymen.

The actual results of the voyages of Quiros and Torres were the discovery of thirteen coral islands in the Pacific, of the Duff and Banks groups, of the New Hebrides, of the eastern end and southern coast of New Guinea, and of Torres Strait, with its innumerable islands: not a barren record.

Quiros came to Madrid to urge the Spanish Government to give him command of another expedition for the completion of his discoveries. He had before him a dreary seven years of memorialising Councils, of obstruction and delays. It wore him out; but he was led to believe that he had succeeded. A timely death saved him from the anguish of finding that he had been deceived. He was worried into his grave by Councils and Committees. But before he died he believed that he had at length overcome the obstruction, and his last hours were cheered by the hope of final success.

We gather the character of Quiros from his narratives. He was a man of a humane and generous disposition, averse to violence and bloodshed. He was a zealous Catholic, striving to maintain religious feelings and to enforce morality among his people. Brave and resolute himself, full of zeal and enthusiasm, he failed in the management of men. He was often weak and vacillating, and had not the force of will necessary to control the turbulent and to cheer the half-hearted. The Chief Pilot,

Juan Ochoa de Bilboa, during the voyage, caused a mutinous feeling on board the *Capitana*, persuading the crew to go straight to Manilla. Quiros merely sent this Chief Pilot on board the *Almiranta* under arrest. Torres strongly importuned his chief to punish such insubordination, but he would not. It was the same with another mutinous officer, Diego de Prado y Tobar. He was merely sent on board the *Almiranta*. To this weakness Torres attributes the slackness and want of zeal, if not something worse, when the *Capitana* parted company. Juan de Iturbe, the Accountant, in his letter now in the *Biblioteca Nacional* (J. 2), merely says that the Chief Pilot went over to the ship of Torres because he was disgusted with Quiros. We have the evidence of Torres himself that this was not the reason. Iturbe was another disaffected officer, and disloyal to his chief. There was not a single instance of capital punishment during the expedition, and not a single death, with the exception of the Father Commissary, who died of old age. Quiros was a thorough seaman, and the best Pilot of his time. He was not a self-seeker, but was devoted to a great idea, and persistently strove to realise it with unswerving resolution, until death ended his career.

Quiros was very unlike his countryman Magellan. He rather reminds us of the great Genoese. Like Columbus, he was a visionary, full of dreams and religious aspirations. Like Columbus, he was devoted to one idea, which he followed with unchanging fidelity to the day of his death. Like Columbus, he was gentle in dealing with those who opposed him, and often weak. One dream of Quiros was that in his Southern Continent there should be justice to the converted natives, and that the evil deeds perpetrated in Mexico and Peru should not be repeated.[1]

It only remains to record the story of the Quiros

[1] See his extraordinary Will at p. 291.

Memorials, when we shall see the navigator, prematurely old, striving for the means of renewing his efforts: struggling against Councils and Committees while life lasted.

Quiros landed at Acapulco, was very coldly received by the officials at Mexico, and reached Madrid on the 9th of October, 1607. He was quite destitute. He only had two maravedis, which he gave to a beggar. But his faithful young Secretary remained true to him. During the first eleven days, he had not money to buy ink or paper. He wrote his first Memorial on the flyleaves of a pamphlet. He got the money for printing it by selling his clothes. To print the second, he sold his bedding; for the third, he pawned the royal banner under which he had taken possession of Espiritu Santo. After seventeen months of extreme penury, the King granted him 500 ducats.

Quiros tells us that he sent in fifty memorials in fifty months. Of these, eight have been preserved and printed by Zaragoza. The first was written in 1607.[1] He describes the events of the voyage, and makes excuses for altering course when he had reached 26° S.; and for having parted company with Torres. He explains his view that the Antarctic continent runs from Espiritu Santo S.E. to Magellan Strait, a land of vast extent: "a new world." He says that he gave the name of "Austrialia del Espiritu Santo" from His Majesty's title of Austria. He says that the tonnage of his ships was 150 and 120, and that they carried one hundred and thirty men, besides six friars. The cost of the expedition was 184,000 ducats. He concludes by saying that he had no pay, and that he owes 2,500 dollars without one *quarto* to pay it.

The second existing Memorial is the eighth that he sent in. It is given in Purchas, and was reproduced by

[1] Zaragoza, vol. ii, p. 191 (23 pages).

Dalrymple. It forms the first document in the Appendix.[1] The eighth Memorial was printed at Seville in 1610. Purchas obtained a copy, which he reprinted in his *Pilgrimes*. Hessel Gerritsz. printed a Dutch version, in 1612, in his *Detectio Freti Hudsoni*, reprinted by Müller at Amsterdam, in 1878, and two French translations appeared in 1617.

The third existing Memorial is also given in Purchas and Dalrymple. It forms the second document in the Appendix.[2]

The fourth is translated for the first time, and forms the third document in the Appendix.[3]

The fifth existing Memorial was the sixteenth he had written. It contains proposals for colonising the new continent; and here Quiros compares himself to Columbus, Da Gama, and Magellan.[4]

The sixth existing Memorial refers to a royal order received from the Secretary, Gabriel de Hoa, instructing the Viceroys to despatch Quiros on a new voyage. He submits detailed estimates. He proposes to take one hundred and fifty persons, and mentions the names of three Captains who are willing to accompany him. One of them is Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado, a cosmographer and writer who is best known for his account of the imaginary Strait of Anian, published in 1588. Quiros also gives the names of eighteen Franciscan friars who are ready to go. He refers to his extreme poverty, and asks for his debts to be paid.[5]

The seventh extant Memorial is, according to Quiros, the fiftieth that he wrote. It is much the longest, covering 108 pages. It begins by recapitulating the contents of his eighth and sixteenth Memorials. It contains an interesting

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[1] See p. 477. [2] See p. 487. [3] See p. 504.
[4] Zaragoza, vol. ii, p. 242. [5] *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 268.

report by Hernando de los Rios, the Procurator of the Philippines, of a voyage to New Guinea by a Portuguese named Miguel Roxo de Brito; also an extract from a letter received by Quiros from his second in command, Torres, dated June 15th, 1607; and a report by Ruy Gonzalez de Sequiera, the Governor of the Moluccas. Quiros repeats his proposals, and again dwells on the importance of the intended discoveries.

The eighth and last extant Memorial is only a further recapitulation. He says he has been sending in memorials constantly for fifty months.

The Memorials are tedious, and necessarily full of repetitions. I have only thought it advisable to give three of them in the Appendix, as specimens.

The fourth document in the Appendix is a letter from Fernando de Castro, who had married the widow of Mendaña. He prayed that no concession might be made to Quiros, as he, Castro, had inherited the claims of Mendaña on the Solomon Islands.

The two letters from Diego de Prado y Tovar,[1] the malignant enemy of Quiros, follow. This man had made the voyage with Torres, and wrote from Goa, on his way home. He forwarded four valuable and very interesting maps, the originals of which are now at Simancas. They are from the surveys of Torres, who had probably died previous to the date of Prado's letters. One is a plan of the Bay of St. Philip and St. James; the other three are plans of bays in New Guinea. They are coloured, with long descriptive titles.[2] Reduced copies, in colour, were published in the *Boletin* of the Madrid Geographical

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[1] These letters were published by Zaragoza (vol. ii, p. 187), and also in the *Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica de Madrid* for 1878 (tom. IV, p. 62). Lord Stanley of Alderley gave a translation of one of them in his *Philippine Islands*, p. 412 (Hakluyt Soc., 1868).

[2] See p. 469.

Society, in 1878,[1] with the long titles printed separately. I have had these maps reproduced for the present work. The abuse of Quiros by this insubordinate officer can be taken for what it is worth.

Another detractor of his commander was the disloyal Accountant, Juan de Iturbe. He wrote a long letter from Mexico, dated March 25th, 1607,[2] which was referred to the Council of the Indies and retained for reference. He gives a fairly truthful account of the events connected with the return of the *Capitana*, while trying inferentially to throw blame on Quiros. He ridiculed the ceremonies at Espiritu Santo, and the creation of an order of knightood by Quiros; and while representing the importance of the discoveries, he added that Quiros was not a fit man to command a new expedition. I have not thought it necessary to insert the letter of Iturbe, as it contains no new information.

The next two documents in the Appendix speak for themselves. One is a Minute of the Council of the Indies on the demands of Quiros, and on the most politic way of treating him. The other is an order to check him in the printing and dissemination of his Memorials, which were to be considered confidential. We know that two at least had been published at Seville, and had fallen into the hands of Purchas and Hessel Gerritsz.

The last document in the Appendix is the Memorial on the discovery of the Antarctic continent and the conversion of its inhabitants, by a Chilian lawyer named Juan Luis Arias. It is bound up in a volume in the British Museum, with other documents, chiefly memorials, relating to the

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[1] Tom. IV, Jan. 1878. The maps were reproduced, without colour, in Collingridge's *Discovery of Australia* (1895).

[2] In the *Biblioteca Nacional* at Madrid (J. 2).

Church of Spain.[1] The text was reprinted at Edinburgh in the last century, and translated by Dalrymple in 1773. Its chief interest lies in the statement that Juan Fernandez led an expedition from Chile which discovered the Southern Continent, landed on it, and had intercourse with the inhabitants. Dalrymple and Burney treat this fabrication seriously, and conjecture that the discovered land might have been New Zealand. I have discussed the career of Juan Fernandez in a footnote to the Memorial of Arias in the Appendix.[2]

We get a glimpse of the view taken by leading Spanish statesmen under Philip III, of the Memorials and aspirations of Quiros, from the Minutes of a sitting of the Council of State in July, 1609.[3] The Cardinal-Archbishop of Toledo,[4] the Constable of Castille,[5] the Duke of Infantado,[6] the Count of Lemos,[7] and other grandees, were present.

The letter from Juan de Iturbe, as well as the Memorials of Quiros, were before them. The Count of Lemos wrote a Minute strongly against the employment of Quiros. The feeling was that further expenditure on such voyages was undesirable, and that it would be wiser to spend money in completing the exploration of Peru and Mexico. They

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[1] *Papeles tocantes à la Iglesia Española* (British Museum, 4745, f. 11).

[2] See pp. 526 to 528 and footnotes.

[3] Zaragoza, vol. ii, p. 259.

[4] Dr. Don Bernardo de Sandoval y Roxas, a grandson of the second Count of Lerma, was then Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal and Inquisitor-General. He died in 1618.

[5] Don Juan Fernandez de Velasco, Duke of Frias, Marquis of Berlangas, and Count of Haro, was hereditary Constable of Castille. He died at Madrid in 1613.

[6] Don Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, Duke of Infantado and Marquis of Santillana. He died in 1624.

[7] Don Pedro Fernandez de Castro, seventh Count of Lemos, was Ambassador at Rome in 1600, President of the Council of the Indies, and afterwards Viceroy of Naples. He married his cousin, a daughter of the Duke of Lerma. He was the patron of Cervantes. His son was Viceroy of Peru 1667-72.

looked upon Quiros as a very discontented and dangerous man, who might sell his knowledge and services to the English. The best course would be, they thought, to keep him quiet in Madrid by promises. He might be employed to draw maps and charts. If he continued to insist upon going to Peru, a letter of recommendation might be given to him for the Viceroy. But it was further suggested that the letter of Iturbe should also be sent to the Viceroy, with a *contra-despacho*, leaving the matter to his discretion, with orders to entertain Quiros and his proposals, but not to despatch his business.

This treachery was the final conclusion when Quiros started. Worn out by delays and obstruction, worried almost to death by Councils and Committees, he gladly accepted the promise to give him command of an expedition. Ignorant of the *contra-despacho*, he put his trust in the honour of the new Viceroy of Peru, a great man, Don Francisco de Borja, Prince of Esquilache,[1] with whom he proceeded on the voyage to Peru, accompanied by his wife and two children. He thought that at length, after years of wearisome solicitation, his grand ideas were to be realised. Fortunately for the brave enthusiast, he was saved from the anguish of being undeceived by a timely death at Panama on his way out. He died at the age of fifty, quite worn out and driven to his grave by Councils and Committees, with their futile talk, needless delays, and endless obstruction. His faithful Secretary, Belmonte Bermudez, who had edited the Memorials for him, stood by him to the last.[2]

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[1] He was a grandson of Francisco de Borja, Duke of Gandia, and the third General of the Jesuits who was canonized. He was Prince of Esquilache by right of his wife, and his age was thirty-two when he went out as Viceroy of Peru in 1615. He reached Lima in December.

[2] Luis de Belmonte Bermudez then went to Mexico, and he appears to have returned to Seville in 1616. There he wrote *El Cisma de*

The ideas of Quiros respecting an Antarctic continent were, no doubt, fixed in his mind by seeing the coast-lines delineated by the map-makers of his time. It, therefore, becomes very interesting to trace this southern coast-line on the principal maps from the time of Ortelius down to the last map that showed it before Captain Cook's second voyage finally disproved its existence. Mr. Basil Soulsby has kindly prepared a note on this subject, which follows the Introduction.

The voyage of Quiros was the first event in the story of Antarctic enterprise. Its object was the discovery of the Southern Continent and the annexation of the South Pole. It was the dream of an enthusiast. It was a failure, but not altogether a barren failure. Others of another nation were to follow up his idea. He fell, worried to death by Committees. But he opened the glorious record of Antarctic discovery. Captain Cook made known the Southern Continent imagined by Quiros, and actually seen by Torres. Captain Cook first crossed the Antarctic circle, and searched all round it for the supposed coast-lines of Quiros. Great communities were to arise in the Southern Continent, in Australia and New Zealand, but not of Spanish race. The achievements of the peoples of the Iberian peninsula were of vast importance to the world; but they came to an end with the voyage of Quiros. The mantle of discovery fell on other shoulders. James Ross followed Cook in realising the dream of Quiros; and now we recognise Robert Falcon Scott as the greatest and most successful of Antarctic discoverers.

Jordan. In 1618 he settled at Madrid. Then appeared his *Aurora de Cristo* and *Hispalica.* In the *Comedias Escojidas* (4to, Madrid, 1682-1704) there are eleven plays of Belmonte, including the *Renegade of Valladolid*, and *God the Best Guardian.* Ticknor mentions them as a singular mixture of what is sacred and what is profane (*Ticknor's Spanish Literature*, vol. ii, p. 300).

COMPARATIVE LIST OF MAPS OF THE NEW HEBRIDES, ETC., 1570–1904.

With British Museum press-marks.

1.—1570. Antwerp. Typus Orbis Terrarum. In Abraham Ortelius's Atlas.—The Terra Australis, with Beach provincia aurifera, extends right across the world, and from the Tropic of Capricorn to the S. Pole. New Guinea appears as an island. The Molucca Islands are shown. [Maps. 46. c. 2.]

2.—1578. Antwerp. Universi Orbis seu Terreni Globi in plano effigies. In G. de Jode's "Speculum Orbis Terrarum," 1578.—New Guinea forms one end of the Terra Australis, in which Terra del Fuego appears in the centre, and which stretches across the whole Circulus Antarcticus. [Maps. 31. c. 5.]

3.—1587. Antwerp. Typus Orbis Terrarum. In Abraham Ortelius's Atlas. 1592 edition.—The Terra Australis. The Solomon Islands, discovered in 1568, appear with this name for the first time. [Maps. 46. d. 2.]

4.—1587. Duisburg. Orbis Terrae Compendiosa Descriptio. By Rumold Mercator. In G. Mercator's Atlas, 1589. — The Terra Australis, but without the Solomon Islands. Java Minor appears to the S.E. of Beach province. [Maps. 34. c. 2.]

5.—1589. Antwerp. Totius Orbis cogniti universalis Descriptio. In C. de Jode's "Speculum Orbis Terrarum." 1593.—New Guinea an island. Otherwise as in 2. [Maps. 24. c. 7.]

6.—1590. Amsterdam. Orbis Terrarum Typus De Integro multis in locis emendatus. Auctore Petro. Plancio.—Terra Australis Magellanica, with Beach provincia aurifera, extends across the Antarctic Circle. "Nova Guinea nuper inventa quez an sit insula an pars continentis australis incertum est." Insulae Salomonis alone of Quiros' islands are shown. [920. (266.)]

7.—1612. Antwerp. In A. Ortelius' Atlas, Latin edition. Same as No. 3. [Maps. 46. d. 12.]

8.—1628. London. A New & Accurate Mappe of the World. By R. Vaughan. (From "The World encompassed by Sir Francis Drake").—"This South part of the world contayning almost the third part of the globe is yet unknowne, certaine sea coasts excepted, which rather show there is a land then discry eyther land people or comodities," appears on "The Southerne Unknowne Land," across the Antarctic Circle. New Guinee is shown. [920. (46.)]

9.—1630. Amsterdam. Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Geographica ac Hydrographica Tabula. By Henricus Hondius. In H. Hexham's English edition of G. Mercator's Atlas. 1636.—The Terra Australis, with the Beach province, is defined in very faint outline. The Ladrones appear, also Baixos de S. Barth, I. d. S. Petro, J. Vesinos, Barbudos, I. de Paxaros. The Solomon Islands are not given. [Maps. 34. d. 8.]

10.—1641. Amsterdam. Same as No. 9. In J. Jansson's Atlas. 1653. [Maps. 88. e. 1.]

11.—1662. Amsterdam. Nova et accuratissima totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula. Joannes Blaen.—The large Terra Australis has disappeared. Hollandia Nova is outlined, but N. Guinea is only partially outlined.

Zelandia Nova has a western coast-line only. Antonii Van Diemans Landt is partly outlined. The words Australia Incognita occur on the circle of the Southern Polar Region. [Maps. 64. e. 1.]

12.—1660. London. A New Map of the Terraqueous Globe according to the latest discoveries and most general divisions of it into continents and oceans. In Edw. Well's "A New Sett of Maps." —"New Zeland supposed to be part of ye Southern unknown Continent." 35° S.

"New Holland esteemed to be part of ye Southern unknown continent," mixed up with New Guinea, touching the Equator, and all only partly outlined.

The smaller islands are not named. [Maps. 87. d. 3.]

13.—1667. Paris. Mappe-Monde. In N. Sanson's (d'Abbéville) Atlas.—New Guinea appears as an island. The Beach Province is only partially outlined. Terre Magellanique Australe Incogneue is outlined right across the Southern Hemisphere, as in No. 1. Nearly all the islands in the New Hebrides mentioned by Quiros are shown. [Maps. 88. d. 3.]

14.—1668. Paris. Carte Universelle de tout le Monde. Par H. Jaillot.—Terra Australis, showing Beach provincia aurifera, extends right across the Antarctic Circle. Petan Island and Java Minor are to the E. of Beach. Nova Guinea jam recens detecta ab I. Lamero, is partly shown in outline. [920. (61.)]

15.—1674. Rome. Mappa Mondo. By Gio. Lhuilier. In G. G. de Rossi's Mercurio Geografico.—Terra di Quir, N. coast, is shown in outline, S. of Solomon Islands, 10° to 20° S. Nova Guinea appears as an island. Terra Magellanica embraces the Arctic Circle. Nova Olanda is shown, but without the E. coast. The smaller islands are not given. New Zealand appears in outline. [Maps. 64. d. 10.]

16.—1680.—Oxford. Orbis Terrarum nova et accuratissima Tabula. Auctore Joanne à Loon. In Moses Pitt's "The English Atlas," vol. i. 1680.—New Zealand, E. coast, shown in outline. The islands mainly as in No. 13. N. Guinea and Hollandia Nova are shown in outline on W. coast. Van Diemen's Land shown in detail. The Terra Australis does not extend across the Antarctic Circle. [Maps. 85. e. 3.]

17.—1690. Amsterdam. Nova Orbis Tabula in Lucem edita a F. de Wit. In F. de Wit's Atlas.—The small islands are as in No. 9. N. Guinea and Hollandia Nova join, and the western coast is outlined. Zelandia Nova is outlined also on the W. coast. Australia Incognita is printed round the circle of the S. Pole. [Maps. 86. d. 11.]

18.—1690. Amsterdam. Orbis Terrarum Nova et Accuratissima Tabula. Auctore Nicolao Visscher. In N. Visscher's Atlas Minor. Tom. 1.—Same as No. 17. [Maps. 89. e. 3.]

19.—1696. Paris. Mappe-Monde. By N. Sanson. In H. Jaillot's "Nouveau Atlas."—As in 15. Carpentaria, N.W. coast, appears below Nouvelle Guinée, between 10° and 20° S. [Maps. 84. e. 1.]

20.—1700. Paris. Mappe monde. Par Guillaume Delisle. In G. De L'Isle's Atlas. 1715.—Nouvelle Guinée and Nouvelle Hollande are joined, and are outlined on the W. coast, as in Nle. Zelande. Terre de Diemen is outlined on the S.E. coast.

The following routes, in dotted lines, are shown :—

Ferdinand Magellan, 1520.
Juan Gaetan, 1542.
Mendaña and Gallego, 1568.
Mendaña and Quiros, 1595.
An English Pilot, reported by Robert Dudley, *c.* 1600.
Olivier du Nord, 1600.
Le Maire and Cornelius Schouten, 1616.
Pelfart, 1629.
Abel Tasman, 1642.
William Dampier, 1686.

"Isle découverte par Drak" occurs in lat. 66° S., long. 75°, above the S. Polar region. Terre que la flote de Mendaña crut être la Nle. Guinée occurs in lat. 6° S., long. 188°. [Maps. 86 d. 1.]

21.—1705. Paris. Mappe-Monde. In N. de Fer's "Atlas Curieux."—N. Guinée and Nouvelle Hollande are connected, and shown on W. coast. Nouv. Zeelande, W. coast, appears in outline. The smaller islands are not shown. [Maps. 1. c. 46.]

22.—1710. London. A New and Correct Map of the World. By C. Price.—New Guinea and New Holland are not connected, but the E. coast is not shown. Diemen's Land is given, due S. of N. Holland, between 39° and 45°. The smaller islands are as in No. 9. [Maps. 63. f. 2.]

23.—1720. Paris. Mappemonde. Par Guillaume De L'Isle.—In G. De L'Isle's Atlas, 1732.—Mainly as in No. 20. Mendaña's "New Guinea" appears as the Solomon Islands. "Les Marquises de Mendoce" are shown. [Maps. 91. e. 3.]

24.—1720. Amsterdam. Diversa Orbis Terræ . . . in Planum Orthographica Projectio. By Peter Schenck. In J. B. Homann's Atlas. 1740.—Hollandia Nova nearly complete. To E. of Carpentaria comes Quiro Regio, between 10° and 20° S. Most of Quiros' smaller islands are shown. Zelandia Nova, and Antoni van Diemen's Land are partly shown. Baye S. Philippe and St. Jacques occur both in Quiro Regio and in Zelandia Nova. The continent of Terra Australis, across the S. Pole, now disappears. [Maps 87. e. 12.]

25.—1730. Augsburg. Diversi Globi Terr-Aquei . . . in planum delineati Orthographici Prospectus. In M. Seutter's Atlas Novus. —Same as No. 15, with various route tracks added. Regio habitata detecta per Mendaña, occurs between 10° and 20° N. Terra quam vidit Mendaña occurs on the Equator, 260° Long. Baye de S. Philippe et S. Jaques occurs in Zeelandia Nova, 40° S. The smaller islands are shown. [Maps. 89. e. 4.]

26.—1740. Amsterdam. Hémisphère Meridional. Par G. Delisle. —Terres Australes, Nouvelle Hollande, W. coast shown in outline. Terre Australe du St. Esprit (R. Jordan, Port de la Vraie Croix, R. S. Sauveur, G. de S. Jaque et S. Philippe), shown in outline, E. of Carpentarie. Routes of Quiros and Gallego, Le Maire and Schouten, etc., shown. Cape de la Circoncision, Jan. 1, 1739, between 50° and 68° S. [960. (1.)]

27.—1752. London. A New and Accurate Map of all the Known World.—In Emman. Bowen's "Complete Atlas."—New Guinea, New Holland, and Van Diemen's Land are shown as one continent, New Zeeland, W. coast, in outline. "Land and Is. discovered by Quiros," between 10° and 20° S. but not named. [Maps. 89. d. 2.]

28.—1752. Paris. Mappemonde.—In Robert de Vaugondy's Atlas Universel. 1757.—Terres et isles vues par Quiros en 1605, shown without names. New Guinea continent as in No. 27. Terre découverte par les Vaisseaux de la Compagnie des Indes en Janvier 1739, shown between 50° and 60° S. 30° Long. [Maps. 69. e. 1.]

29.—1753. Paris. Nouvelle Mappe-Monde. Par Guill. De la Haye. —T. du St. Esprit, is shown, 160° Long. [920. (83).]

30.—1755. Paris. Mappemonde.—In J. Palairet's "Atlas Méthodique."—Same as No. 28. [Maps 68. e. 2.]

31.—1761. Paris. Hémisphère Occidental ou du Nouveau Monde. Hémisphère Oriental ou de l'Ancien Monde. Par le Sr. D'Anville.—Nouvelle Guinea and Nouvelle Hollande are one. The E. coast is not defined. Terre du St. Esprit, Terre de Quiros, appear due E. of Nouvelle Hollande, between 10° and 20° S. Nouvelle Zeelande and Terre de Diemen are partly outlined. [920. (272.)]

32.—1773. London. Map of the World, after D'Anville. By T. Kitchen.—Tierra del Spiritu Santo, Land of Quiros, is shown. New Zealand, with two islands, appears in detail; New Holland, with New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Land, also appears with a complete coast-line, for the first time. [Maps. 86. d. 5.]

33.—1776. London. Chart of Discoveries made in the South Pacific Ocean in H.M. ship *Resolution*, under . . . Captain Cook. 1774. By W. Palmer.—Tierra del Espiritu Santo, and the rest of the New Hebrides, are shown in very complete detail. [981. (4.)]

34.—1786. Paris. Hémisphère Occidentale, etc. (*see* No. 31. 1761.) Revu par M. Barbié du Bocage.—Terre de Kerguelen appears 50° S. The map is an improvement on 1773, but Nouvelle Guinée is not shown complete, and Terre de Diemen is still part of Australia. [Maps. 86. d. 2.]

35.—1790. London. New World or Western Hemisphere.—Eastern Hemisphere or Old World. In W. Faden's General Atlas.—Shows Cook's Track, 1769-78. Furneaux's Track, 1774. Van Diemen's Land is part of Terra Australis. The smaller islands are clear and more correct. [Maps. 2. e. 1.]

36.—1798. London. Chart of the Pacific Ocean. By A. Arrowsmith.—New Holland (S. coast excepted) in outline. Van Diemen's Land shown as an island. New Guinea only partly shown, and in outline. [980. (10.)]

37.—1799. London. Map of the World, after d'Anville, by T. Kitchen.—Tierra del Spiritu Santo now appears as part of the New Hebrides. Otherwise as in No. 32. 1773. [Maps. 89. e. 6.]

38.—1799. London. Chart containing the greater part of the South Sea, etc. By Laurie and Whittle.—New Zeeland, in two islands. Tierra (Austral) del Spiritu Santo, in New Hebrides. Route of Mendaña in 1567 shown. Below the Society Islands, "Islands seen by Quiros." Between 25° and 30° S. "Santelmo the southernmost island of Quiros according to Ulloa." [981. (2.)]

39.—1799. London. Western (Eastern) Hemisphere. In "Cary's New Universal Atlas," 1808.—New Holland, with New South Wales, is shown complete, except Northernmost point. New Guinea is not complete, and in outline. The islands are as in Laurie and Whittle. [Maps. 92. f. 17.]

40.—1824. St. Pétersbourg. Carte Générale de l'Océan Pacifique. Hémisphère Austral. In Krusenstern's "Atlas de l'Océan Pacifique."—Australia appears so-called for the first time. The islands, Nlles. Hebrides, etc., are shown with the dates of discovery. [Maps. 7. e. 11.]

41.—1827. Bruxelles. Carte d'Assemblage de l'Océanie. In "Ph. Vandermaelen's Atlas Universel."—Nouvelle Hollande and N. Guinée are shown in complete outline. New Zealand in three islands. The smaller islands are now as before. [Maps. 68. e. 1.]

42.—1827. Gotha.-Australien. No. 50 in Ad. Stieler's "Hand-Atlas."—Neu Holland and Neu Süd Wales appear as parts of "Austral-Land." Neue Hebriden and the other groups of islands are shown. [Maps. 85. d. 10.]

43.—1835. London. The World, on Mercator's Projection. In J. Arrowsmith's London Atlas.—"New Holland or Australia," without any inland towns. First use of the name of Australia for New Holland in a general Atlas. New South Wales still extends to the Gulf of Carpentaria. The Solomon Islands, New Hebrides, and the other islands are now completely shown. New Zealand, without inland towns, in three islands. Terra Australis or Australia occurs in the Atlas to Capt. Matthew Flinders's "Voyage to Terra Australis, 1801-1803" 2 vols. *London*, 1814 [455. c. 13, 14. and Tab. 437. a.] In vol. i. pp. vii-x, he mentions Torres's discovery of Australia. In J. Arrowsmith's Map of the Pacific Ocean, 1832, the dates of discovery are given to most of the islands. [Maps. 86. d. 7.]

44.—1866. London. New Caledonia, New Hebrides, and Loyalty Islands. Admiralty Chart.—This is the best modern map of Quiros's islands. The Atlases between 1836 and 1865 do not show much change or much detail. [Sec. xv. (1380.)]

45.—1886. New Hebrides Islands. Banks Group. Surveyed by H.M.S. *Dart*. Admiralty Chart.—Gaua (Santa Maria) and the other islands are shown on a large scale. [Sec. xv. (174.)]

46.—1892. London. New Hebrides Islands. Malo Island to Efate Island. Admiralty Chart.—This is on a much larger scale, and gives the islands in full detail, surveyed by H.M.S. *Dart*, 1890-91. [Sec. xv. (1570.)]

47.—1896. London. New Caledonia, New Hebrides, and Loyalty Islands. Admiralty Chart.—This is a new edition of No. 44. The islands are shown in much more exact detail, and with more information.

48.—1904. London. British New Guinea and the Solomon, Santa Cruz, and New Hebrides Islands. In Edward Stanford's London Atlas. 3rd edition. 1904.—This is a very excellent and clear map; scale, 1 : 4,089,064. 64.537 English miles to 1 inch.

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NARRATIVE

OF THE

Second Voyage

OF THE

Adelantado Alvaro de Mendaña,

BY

THE CHIEF PILOT,

PEDRO FERNANDEZ DE QUIROS.[1]

Historia del descubrimiento de las Regiones Austriales.

SECOND VOYAGE

OF

ALVARO DE MENDAÑA.

CHAPTER I.

How the second voyage to the Isles of Solomon was commenced by the Adelantado Alvaro de Mendaña, in whose company Pedro Fernandez de Quiros went as Pilot and Captain. Recounts the departure from Callao.

MANY years having passed in silence since the first voyage of Alvaro Mendaña, God was served that in the city of Kings, residence of Viceroys of Peru, the enterprise should be proclaimed which His Majesty had ordered the Adelantado[1] Alvaro Mendaña to undertake to the Isles of Solomon. He hoisted his flag, his Captain being his brother-in-law, Lorenzo Barreto; and he sent another Captain, named Lope de Vega, to the valleys of Truxillo and Saña, with orders to recruit men and collect provisions. The Adelantado met with some difficulties and obstacles in fitting out the expedition, which

[1] An office corresponding to the President or Governor of a province. *Præfectus.* "Adelante," in front; more advanced than others.

Dom Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, and then Viceroy of Peru, helped him to overcome.[1] Thus four vessels were got ready with as much despatch as possible, and the Adelantado went from Lima to Callao, with his wife Doña Isabel Barreto, and all the people he had to take from thence. With the diligence he exercised, he persuaded and induced Pedro Fernandez de Quiros to come with him as Captain and Chief Pilot. The Pilot de Quiros had raised several points with the Adelantado in the conversations they had together respecting the conduct of the voyage, both in going and returning; but all were settled, and he ended by resolving to join the expedition.

The disorders which took place in this expedition were

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[1] Here Suarez de Figuaroa inserts the following speech, made by the Marquis of Cañete to Mendaña.

On one of the many occasions when Alvaro de Mendaña (then fitting out) had interviews with the Viceroy to communicate some particulars and to kiss his hand for the many kindnesses and favours he had received from him, his Excellency said: "My Lord the Adelantado, I may well wish you God speed on commencing this business with as vigorous a set of men as can be found in the world. Prodigious are the deeds of the Spaniards at various times and in various places, and especially when led by valorous generals who know how to overcome difficulties; who have met dangers with prudence; who under adverse circumstances have maintained a cheerful countenance and kept up the spirits of their followers with encouraging words and promises; who rewarded them; who cherished them; who succoured them; and who, ruling by kindness, took advantage of every opportunity with wisdom. There are so many glorious leaders of our nation who have acted thus, that might be named, that I undoubtedly should tire my tongue in enumerating them and my memory in bringing them to mind. On the other side their valiant followers have always been, on these occasions, loyal and obedient, and full of courtesy and virtue both in word and deed. If in the present age these generalities suffer from some exceptions, it is not the fault of the men. Various times bring forth misfortunes. A few years soon pass in the harvest of valour, and few good things are known of the leaders. This is especially the case in maritime expeditions where the inconveniences and difficulties are innumerable, while the remedies that can be applied to them are few and of little efficacy. Certain ancient mariners make a notable clamour, in whose eyes our ancestors were so excellent that they hold them in great veneration. But they all made furrows in the eastern sea; very little was done by them on the western side, which scarcely puts limits to the imagination. On that

numerous; and in order that this history may be clear, it is necessary to say something of them, as it seems to me that they were the cause of the unfortunate ending of the enterprise.

The stars of the eighth heaven are unequal in dimensions, for some appear to our vision great, and others so small that they are scarcely visible. There are those who say that if one of these should be wanting in heaven there would be equivalent loss on earth. I mean that the most minute circumstance that has ceased to do harm may have its effect on the course of events.

The Master of the Camp[1] embarked, and the first thing he did was to interfere with the Boatswain in matters pertaining to his office, using words to him which oblige

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side some navigators have been eminent. In the first rank is Columbus, who, being despised by various sovereigns, made his discovery finally for the Catholic ones, Isabella and Ferdinand, and showed America, the foundation on which has been built so many and such important edifices, alike spiritual as temporal. He was succeeded by the wonderful Cortes, with his extensions of empire and his marvellous deeds. In the part where we are now was the famous Francisco Pizarro, conqueror of so many provinces. Then came Magellan, who nearly went round the world, and came to an end which was less fortunate than his spirit deserved. Next Gama sought remote regions, and opened to the nation the commerce of the east. Valiant (it need not be denied) were the audacious enterprises of Drake, Cavendish, and Hawkins, emulous of the fame of Magellan. Traversing the strait which bears Magellan's name, they came to disturb the seas which for many previous years had been secure and peaceful. But this notwithstanding, it appears to me that I now behold in you a discoverer not less distinguished and famous than those. It has been so in all countries, in times past, that important affairs have been entrusted to him who, either by reason of his genius, or the dignity of his person, or the purity of his life, or his grace and authority, had acquired the universal fame of a true umpire of peace and war, justly committing to his prudence the preservation and prosperity of the state. It is certain that all these qualifications are combined in your person. Your actions prove it, and confirm the choice made by His Majesty for so great a service to God and to him. I hold that there can be no doubt that your established government will be glorious and triumphant, and that the people in your company will remain under it; so that, almost from this time thanks may be given to you for your great industry and valour."

[1] Equivalent to Colonel. He was an old soldier named Pedro Merino Manrique. The name is given by Suarez de Figueroa.

little and offend much. The Boatswain excused himself and the Master of the Camp, wishing to be avenged, certain persons in the accounts department prevented him. At the same time the Chief Pilot was talking to Doña Isabel, who said: "The Master of the Camp is severe. If that is the way in which he asserts his position, he may have a prosperous end, though I am very far from thinking so." The Master of the Camp returning, she said that it seemed to her that the Adelantado would not be pleased to have his people treated with the contumely he showed to them, and still more when the occasion was so slight. The Master of the Camp replied with great impertinence: "Oh look! what have we here?" The Chief Pilot, with good reason, showed much indignation. The Master of the Camp then said, in a loud voice: "Know me! Understand that I am the Master of the Camp, and if we sail together in one ship, and I ordered the ship to be run on some rock, what would you do?" The Chief Pilot answered: "When that time comes I shall do what seems to me to be best; and, in this fleet, I do not recognise any other head but the Adelantado, who has delivered the charge of this ship to me, whose Captain I am; and when he comes he will state what my duties are to be. Believe me that if you want to be lord of all that is about to be discovered, rather than be under the orders of one who takes so much upon himself, and shows so little discretion, I would give up the voyage." Two soldiers, who were present at this colloquy, came to the Chief Pilot and said that their persons were at his service, having so much need for him during the voyage. The Pilot valued their good will, but answered that he did not come to form parties. I leave the rest that passed on this occasion.

The Adelantado came on board, and, as he said that he would apply a suitable remedy to what had occurred, the Chief Pilot remained. On Friday, the 9th of April, of the

year of our Saviour Jesus Christ 1595, orders were given to weigh the anchors and make sail from the port of Callao of the city of the Kings of Peru, which has a latitude of 12° 20′,[1] shaping a course for the valleys of Santa Truxillo, and Saña, on the coast of the same province.

CHAPTER II.

Of what happened to the fleet until it reached the port of Payta, and what ports it touched at.

HAVING made sail, there was so little wind that the ship could not get out of the port. A boat was sent on shore, but presently returned with a report that the beach was full of armed men, who prevented any landing. The night passed, and when the day came the galeot went on, and our other vessel made for Callao. She had been at the ports of the coast, visiting the ships she met, and taking what was wanted out of them. After those on board had behaved like corsairs, they arrived at the port of Santa, where they found a ship on her way from Panama to Lima, laden with merchandize and negroes. They took the vessel, placing a guard to prevent them from going until the Adelantado should arrive, to whom they gave the advice to take her as she was, for his better despatch, sending her value to the owners when God should provide it. The Adelantado would not do this, nor consent that it should be done. The Vicar, zealous for the service of God, reprehended the Captain with sharp speeches, and told him that he was excommunicated, charging him to pay for what he had taken. Having done this he was absolved, and the business was closed. Here a soldier was punished, the reason being kept secret.

[1] 12° 3′ 45″ S. Callao Castle ; 12° 2′ 34″ S. Lima.

Making sail, they anchored in the port of Cherrepe, which is that for the town of Santiago de Miraflores, where the Captain, Lope de Vega, had enlisted a good company of married people. Here the Adelantado married this Captain to his sister-in-law, Mariana de Castro, giving him the title of Admiral.

There was at anchor in this port a new and strong ship with a cargo of flour, sugar, and other things, bound to Panama. The officers of the *Almiranta* having made friends with those on board the other ship, they were persuaded, by means of efficacious reasoning, to let the General take her, and receive their vessel instead, which, owing to age and bad construction, they might well do, because thus the King would be better served. But the Adelantado showed great annoyance at these intrigues, and replied that his ship was very good for the service on which it was to be employed. Those who intended evil felt the good intention, and, in order to gain their end, they secretly made seven gimlet-holes in the ship, in order to oblige—as they did oblige—the soldiers to say that they would not go in a ship so unseaworthy if they could not take the other. In consequence of this, the Pilot and Master presented a petition to the Adelantado, setting forth that his ship was making a great deal of water, and was unsuited for so long and risky a voyage as she was intended to make; and begging him to take the remedy that was at hand. The Adelantado, seeing the determination of all, and compelled by necessity, referred the matter to the Master of the Camp, before whom information was taken which proved what was wanted, and if more was wanted, more could be proved. So the General ordered the Master of the Camp to take the ship; and that the carpenters should make an estimate of the excess of value over that of the vessels to be exchanged for it. They reported that the difference amounted to 6600 dols.

Presently, the Master of the Camp sent a guard on board the ship, and began to unload her. There was a priest on board, who owned half the cargo. He protested vigorously against the injustice and robbery, when he saw the loss that he would sustain. He made strong protests and claims on the ship, in his own name and in those of other interested parties. He sought the ship, stating that his remedy was there. He came and went to the *Capitana* with his complaints, but got no redress. It was said that a soldier gave him a push, and threatened to throw him overboard. The priest felt all this very deeply, and loudly declared that when he had to pray to our Lord, in his sacrifices, he would ask that the ship might never reach safety if she was unloaded. The good priest caused great sorrow to the compassionate, both on account of the force with which he was treated and the loss of his property; and the grief was doubled at the enterprise being one that was undertaken by their own masters, to whom he earnestly, but vainly, complained of his loss. At last the ship was unloaded, when the Adelantado satisfied the priest respecting his share, which somewhat quieted him. The Adelantado also undertook to pay the difference before he came from the Solomon Islands to Peru, mortgaging to the creditors all his ships. The Adelantado felt and complained much of this proceeding, which had been forced upon him, and he threatened those who he believed to be the cause of it.

As the effects are seen in all things, and even in the justice of God are never wanting, it was understood that usually in that port there was much merchandize, collected in certain warehouses, from all those valleys, to be embarked for Lima, Panama, and other places. They embarked some of these goods, with the owner, his wife and children. Many things were left, and nothing was said about them, for the shadows of things are sufficient to

see them by; and expeditions without a royal purse cannot, it would seem, be set forth without some mischief being done.

The Master of the Camp, because it was his ordinary and first thought not to keep the peace, had a certain slight difference with the Admiral, which, although trifling, appears to have been the beginning of disorders. For if such exist, however small they be, when the Devil stirs them they revive. The Adelantado was very desirous of entering respectable men only; and so, for reasons that moved him, he put certain men and women on shore. I well believed that he might have turned them all out, and proceeded alone on his voyage. Here, for a slight cause, he turned out a sergeant. Who was the instigator the reader will pardon me for leaving it to be understood, for I am not a friend of telling, though it should be a bad affair.

These things being settled, the Adelantado ordered the Chief Pilot to make five charts for the navigation, one for himself and four for each of the Pilots. He was not to show more land on them than the coast of Peru from Arica to Payta, and two points north and south, on one side or the other, the one in 7° and the other in 12°, and 1,500 leagues to the west of Lima, which, he said, was the extreme distance in longitude of the islands of which he was going in search, whose longitude was 1,450 leagues. The other 50° was to be added so as the better to arrive with some margin, and no more land was to be delineated lest some ship should steer to or desert to it.

The Admiral embarked on board the new ship, and the provisions were distributed, but they were not in such quantity nor so good as was necessary. The defects were made up by what the soldiers and other people bought, and by other means.

It only remained to arrange for the water supply, but

the supply was scanty and the port was bad. The Corregidor of the district, Dom Bartolomé de Villavicencio, arrived, and the goodwill he showed is admitted by the Admiral in his report. But as he saw, when he came, the overwork that was being exacted, he went to his house, taking with him all the Indians and horses that were helping us, so as to oblige us to depart. This was the reason that induced the Adelantado to make sail, and pursue his course with only the water that the Chief Pilot had on board. Recognising such a serious defect, the Pilot represented that it was a terrible thing to start with half the jars empty, knowing that we had to enter the largest of the gulfs, and that it must be well considered, lest we should have to leave the land without taking the full supply of water needed for so long and doubtful a voyage. The Adelantado answered that the soldiers asked for it to be obtained in the ports where it was found to be very expensive, and that if a ration of half a gallon ought to be given, a pint might be served out. To this the Chief Pilot replied that it was his duty to see to everything, and not to allow himself to be conquered by the importunities of people who did not know what they were asking. The Adelantado answered to this that he was convinced, and that he would settle the matter with them; which he did with some good and some bad reasons. This done, they made sail, arriving at the port of Payta to take in water.

CHAPTER III.

Of what passed in the port of Payta, and how the fleet set sail and commenced the voyage.

IN each port there was disorder, and as this is one of the best ports on the coast of Peru, the best quarrel was reserved for it. The anger of the Master of the Camp, who excused no one, fell upon the Vicar respecting certain proceedings in his department. There were words between them; and there would have been acts as well if the Adelantado had not been present to prevent them. But they remained angry and unfriendly. Bickerings also commenced between the Master of the Camp and the Captain Don Lorenzo, respecting luggage which some of the soldiers had with them.

The Master of the Camp gave a blow with a stick to a person of consideration. He said that he did not know about that, but that the party would know very well how how much a stick weighed. There was some disturbance; the Master of the Camp drew his sword (at which he was always ready) and struck another soldier, who was annoyed at the blow given to his companion. He fled, but was taken, and incontinently was to be punished. Doña Isabel came out to plead for him. The Master of the Camp showed himself to be so compliant that he threw down the stick and went on board; but this was not that he might not give the Adelantado a faculty against the prisoner. The Chief Pilot would have interceded, but the Adelantado did not wish to hear him, saying that the man had put his hand in his beard, which was a sort of mutiny. The Chief Pilot prayed that nevertheless the Adelantado would hear the case, and dismiss it; or, if he did not wish to do that, that he would judge the matter officially; for that the man had been brought by force, and that it did

not seem just to take away his honour. At last, yielding to these prayers, the Adelantado set the prisoner free. The Master of the Camp had gone on shore, and presently he sent for his clothes. But as the Adelantado showed a wish that he should stay, the Admiral and Captain Don Lorenzo persuaded him to return to the ship.

It appeared to the Chief Pilot that it was very uncertain what would be the end, when the beginning was so disordered. He, therefore, requested the Adelantado that he might be left behind; and for this course he gave many reasons which did not appear to be bad. The Adelantado threw his arms round the Pilot's neck, declaring that only an angel could conduct things as he said, but that all should be put in good order, and that a remedy should be found. The Chief Pilot still insisted upon his dismissal, saying that where the General's person was, who so well understood the art of navigating, he might well be excused. The Adelantado was much grieved on hearing this, and with his sagacity, he showed himself so kind and friendly, and used such honeyed words, that they induced the Pilot to remain. He went on board and, as he passed the ship, the sailors said: "Ah! Sir Chief Pilot, what goings and comings are these? We are informed of what you think of doing, for no one wants to remain in this ship though it cost all their lives." Jumping on shore, the Admiral, the Lieutenant of Payta, and other persons of the fleet, came to the Pilot, and he gave his reasons to all.

At this time the Master of the Camp came up and said, in a loud voice: "Well, Sir! the Devil walks loose among us, to see if he can injure this good work. Let us go whence we came, and let him show himself for what he is. For, though he works with diligence, we will advance forward such a Christian undertaking, and in this voyage we will truly serve God and the King." The Chief Pilot gave him this answer: "Sir Master of the Camp! in all

things there should be moderation and fair dealing, but your Honour was very hasty in raising the stick, drawing your sword, and abusing the seamen whose services are so necessary. As I know the mischief that is done by such conduct, I wish to see the remedy, so as to comply with all my obligations." The Master of the Camp, more gentle when he was on shore, answered that a Camp Master could not be so moderate. The Chief Pilot said that he must be both careful and moderate; that as yet they were in Peru, and that the seamen had to bring them to the islands, and to guard the ship when they had arrived; and that if they were aggrieved, as men, there would be serious trouble; that they had to bring the news and return with succour, and speak well of the land, or evil though it was good, for revenge. The Camp Master was not quieted with this argument, but was wedded to his own idea, and answered that men did not do what they were told at sea; that he had to make them stir quickly; and that all he had done was necessary that the fleet might not be disorganised, and that each man to his own office seemed good, and was in order. With this, and many other things that were said at the time, the incident was closed.

The two embarked, not very friendly, and the Adelantado engaged a man here, who gave him 2,000 dols. for the place of Sergeant Major; and with this he left off recruiting. He embarked 1,800 jars of water, and gave instructions for the order that was to be maintained, and for the navigation that was to be carried out.

They carried in the fleet 378 persons by the list, of whom 280 were capable of bearing arms; 200 arquebuses and other weapons, offensive and defensive, respecting which testimony was given before the Lieutenant of Payta to send to the King our Lord, as was done.

The *Capitana* was named *San Jeronimo*, and there went

in her the Adelantado, his wife, his sister-in-law and her brothers, the chief Officers, and two priests.

The *Almiranta* was named *Santa Isabel*, under the Admiral Lope de Vega, with two Captains, and a priest.

The galeot was named *San Felipe*, under Captain Felipe Corzo, with his officers and men.

The frigate was named *Santa Catalina*, under Captain Alonso de Leyva.

CHAPTER IV.

The Island of Magdalena.

HAVING made sail, the fleet shaped a S.W. course, displaying the royal standard and the flags, playing clarions, and feasting on such an auspicious day as this was considered to be. The winds were from the S. and S.S.E., which are the winds of Peru, until we reached a latitude of 9° 30′, and from that point the course was W.S.W. as far as 14°. From thence the course was W.N.W. to 21°. The sun was taken at noon, and having made the computation, the result was 10° 50′. At 5 in the afternoon, an island was sighted 10 leagues distant, being N.W. by N.[1] The Adelantado gave it the name of Magdalena, as it was the eve of that day. He thought it was the land that he sought, for which reason he was very joyful in every one's sight, in that he had come in a short time with a fair wind, the victuals good, and the people amicable, healthy, and cheerful. During the voyage there had been fifteen marriages, scarcely a day passing without some one wanting to be married next day. It seemed as if all would run in couples with the good fortune,

[1] Magdalena is in 10° 25′ S. and 138° 28′ W.

with high hopes, many stories, and none for the good of the natives.

The Adelantado said to the Vicar and Chaplain that they were to chant the "*Te Deum laudamus*" with all the people on their knees, and that they should give thanks to God for the mercy of sighting land. This was done with great devotion.

On the following day, with doubt whether that island was inhabited, the ships were steered to the south of it, and very near the coast. From a point under a peaked hill towards the eastern end, there came out seventy small canoes, not all the same size, made of one piece of wood, with outriggers of cane on each side, after the manner of the gunwales of galleys, which reach to the water on which they press to prevent the canoe from capsizing, and all their paddles rowing. The least number they had in a canoe was three, the greatest ten, some swimming, and others hanging on—altogether, four hundred natives, almost white, and of very graceful shape, well-formed, robust, good legs and feet, hands with long fingers; good eyes, mouth, and teeth, and the same with the other features. Their skin was clear, showing them to be a strong and healthy race, and indeed robust. They all came naked, without any part covered; their faces and bodies in patterns of a blue colour, painted with fish and other patterns. Their hair was like that of women, very long and loose, some had it twisted, and they themselves gave it turns. Many of them were ruddy. They had beautiful youths who, for a people barbarous and naked, it was certainly pleasant to see; and they had much cause to praise their Creator.

Among them there was a boy, who appeared to be about ten years of age.[1] He came rowing in a canoe with

[1] Suarez de Figueroa says it was a girl.

two others. His eyes were fixed on the ship, and his countenance was like that of an angel, with an aspect and spirit that promised much, of a good colour, not fair but white; his locks like that of a lady who valued them much. He was all that has been said, so that I never in my life felt such pain as when I thought that so fair a creature should be left to go to perdition.[1]

The natives came with much speed and fury, rowing their canoes, pointing with their fingers to their port and land, speaking loudly, and often using the words *atalut* and *analut*. They came to our ships, and when they arrived they gave us cocoa-nuts, a kind of food rolled up in leaves, good plantains, and large canes[2] full of water. They looked at the ships, the people, and the women who had come out on the galley to see them, at whom they looked, and laughed at the sight. They got one to put his hand on the ship, and, with coaxing, they got him to come on board. The Adelantado dressed him in a shirt and put a hat upon his head, which, when the others saw, they laughed and looked, crying out to the rest. On this about forty came on board, beside whom the Spaniards seemed of small stature. Among them there was one taller than the rest by a head and shoulders, and taller than our best men, though we had one very tall. They began to walk about the ship with great boldness, taking hold of whatever was near them, and many of them tried the arms of the soldiers, touched them in several parts with their fingers, looked at their beards and faces, with other monkey tricks. As they saw that our men were dressed in various colours, they were confused; so the soldiers bared their breasts, let down their stockings, and tucked up their sleeves to satisfy them. When they were shown this, they quieted down, and were much pleased.

[1] Suarez de Figueroa quotes all this word for word, and here says that he is quoting from the papers of the Chief Pilot.

[2] Joints of bamboos in which they carry water.

The Adelantado and some of the soldiers gave them shirts, hats, and other trifling things, which they presently put round their necks, dancing and singing in their fashion, and loudly called to the others to look at what they had been given. Their conduct annoyed the Adelantado, who made signs to them to go; but they not only would not leave the ship, but became more free in taking things they saw. Some cut slices from our bacon and meat with knives made of cane, and wanted to take other things. At last the Adelantado ordered a gun to be fired, and when they felt and heard it, with great terror, they all jumped into the water and swam to their canoes, only one remaining in the ship. He was clinging on to the main channels, and they could not make him let go, until some one wounded him on the hand with a sword, which was shown to the others, and they took him into a canoe. At this time they fastened a rope to the ship's bowsprit, and, by rowing, tried to tow her on shore, thinking they could thus take her.

When the native was wounded, they all became warlike, and were marshalled by one who carried a parasol of palm leaves. Among them was one old man with a long and well-ordered beard, who cast fierce looks from his eyes, put both hands into his beard, raised his moustaches, stood up, and cried out, looking in many directions. They played on shells, and striking with their paddles in the canoes they showed their hostility: some taking up the lances which they brought, tied down; others with stones in slings, not having other arms. With good will, they began to hurl stones, and wounded a soldier; but first they had come near the ship, and those with lances threatened to throw them. The soldiers pointed their arquebuses, but, as it had been raining, the powder would not ignite. It was a sight to behold, how the natives came on with noise and shouts; and how some, when they saw weapons pointed at them,

jumped from the canoes into the water, or got behind the others. At last, the old man who made the menaces was shot in the forehead, and fell dead, with seven or eight others, while some were wounded. They fled from our ships, and presently three natives came in a canoe, calling out. One held up a green branch, and something white in his hand, which appeared to be a sign of peace. They seemed to be asking us to come to their port; but this was not done, and they departed, leaving some cocoa-nuts.

This island has a circumference of about 10 leagues, so far as we could see. It is clear and open towards the sea, lofty and wooded in the ravines, which is where the natives live. The port is on the south side. It is in latitude 10° S., and a thousand leagues from Lima. It is thickly inhabited; for, besides those who came in the canoes, the beaches and rocks were covered with people. The Adelantado did not know the place, and, being undeceived, he said it was not one of the islands he came in search of, but a new discovery.

CHAPTER V.

How three other islands were sighted, their names, and how they came to a port in that of Santa Cristina.

AT a short distance from this island three other islands were sighted, for which a course was shaped. The first, to which the Adelantado gave the name of San Pedro, was 10 leagues W.N.W. from Magdalena. It was not ascertained whether it was inhabited, because it was not visited. It is about 4 leagues in circumference, with much forest, but apparently not very high. At the east end there is a rock at a short distance from the coast.

There is another island called Dominica, with a circum-

ference of some 15 leagues, bearing N.W. from San Pedro, distant 5 leagues. The island is beautiful to look upon, and runs N.E. to S.W. It has fine plains and mountains, is thickly inhabited, with many groves of trees.

To the south of Dominica there is another island to which the name of Santa Cristina was given. It seemed to be about 11 leagues in circumference, and is a little over a league from Dominica, with a clear and deep channel between them. The Adelantado named all four islands together "Las Marquesas de Mendoza," in memory of the Marquis of Cañete; because by this, and in making sail with his ships from any port, he wished to show how grateful he was for the assistance given by that Viceroy in the despatch of the expedition.

While tacking off and on, and seeking a port in the island of Dominica, many canoes full of natives came out, who seemed to be of a browner colour, and crying out, showed the same good will as the others. In one canoe there came an old man, carrying a green branch and something white. At this moment the ship was put about, and, thinking that she was going away, the old man began to renew his shouts, make signs with his hair, and pointing downwards with his hair and fingers. The Adelantado wanted to return, but he could not do so because the wind freshened, and no sheltered port for anchoring could be seen: though the frigate, which stood close into the shore, reported having seen many more people than were visible from the ship, and that a native had come on board, who with great ease had lifted a calf by one ear.

On the following day the General sent the Camp Master in the boat with twenty soldiers, to seek for a port or a watering place on the island of Santa Cristina. Many natives came out in canoes, and surrounded them. Our people, wishing to make themselves safe, killed some of them. One, to save himself, jumped into the sea with a

child in his arms. Clasped together, they were sent to the bottom by a shot from an arquebus that one of the soldiers fired off. He said afterwards, with great sorrow, that the Devil had to take those who were ordained to be taken. The Chief Pilot said to him that he regretted that he had not fired in the air, but the soldier said that he acted as he did lest he should lose his reputation as a good marksman. The Chief Pilot asked him what it would serve him to enter into hell with the fame of being a good shot? The Camp Master returned without having found either a port or a watering place.

At the same time four very daring natives had gone on board the ship, and while no one was looking, one of them took a small dog, which was the gift of the Camp Master. Then, with a shout they all jumped overboard with great courage, and swam to their canoes.

The next day, which was St. James's day, the General again sent the Camp Master, with twenty soldiers, to the island of Santa Cristina to find a watering place and a port. He effected a landing with the men in good order, and surrounded a village while the inhabitants stood looking on. The Camp Master called to them, and about three hundred came. Our people then drew a line, telling the natives by signs that they were not to go beyond it. On asking for water they brought some in cocoa nuts, and the women brought other kinds of fruit. The soldiers said that many of these women were very pretty, and that they were ready to come near in friendly intercourse, and to give their presents with their hands. The Camp Master sent the natives for water with the jars, but they made signs that our people should carry them; running off with four jars, for which reason we opened fire on them.

The General, having seen the port into which the Camp Master had gone, ordered the ship to be taken into it and anchored. But the wind died away under the land, and

the ship was taken by a wave to within a lance's length of a rock, with 50 fathoms close to it. There was great consternation at the obvious danger. Sail was made, and God was served that a breeze should spring up, and the ship stood off. Then there came another report that the port was bad, full of sunken rocks, and that it was impossible to get out again if a ship had once entered. The Adelantado was much annoyed to hear the complaints of the hard work, and was moved to continue the voyage, saying that the water they had on board would be sufficient for the voyage to his islands. The Chief Pilot reminded him of the uncertainties of the sea, to which he answered: "If we cannot find a port, what are we to do?" The Chief Pilot replied that we must return to Magdalena, which we had already seen, and where the frigate had anchored, and that for a little more work it was needful to secure more necessaries. Meanwhile, the Camp Master had been coasting along the island; and very near the port that had been entered he found another, which he reported, and there the fleet anchored.

CHAPTER VI.

How the Adelantado landed on the island of Santa Cristina, and what took place with the natives.

ON the day after the arrival, which was the 28th of July, the Adelantado went on shore, with his wife and the greater part of the crew, to hear the first mass said by the Vicar. The natives knelt down in silence and attention, imitating all they saw the Christians do. A very beautiful native sat near Doña Isabel, with such red hair that Doña Isabel wished to cut off a few locks; but seeing that the native did not like it she desisted, not wishing to make her angry.

The General, in the name of His Majesty, took possession of all the four islands, walked through the village, sowed maize in presence of the natives; and, having had such intercourse as was possible with them, he went on board. The Camp Master remained on shore with all the soldiers, who in a short time began to quarrel among themselves. Then the natives threw many stones and lances, wounding one soldier in the foot, without doing any other harm. They then fled to the mountains with their women and children, our people following them, until they were all in the woods. Being fired at, the natives reached the summits of three high hills, where they entrenched themselves. In the mornings and afternoons they all, with one accord, made a resounding noise, which echoed through the ravines, and was replied to by shouts. They wished to do us harm, hurling stones and lances, but their efforts were in vain.

The Camp Master placed guards in three positions to secure the village and the beach, where the women were resting and the sailors getting wood and water for the ships. What I have to say is, that some of these natives, being strong and courageous, used arrows, while there were not wanting others who seemed more cautious. They were very diligent to attack; but seeing how little harm they did, and how much hurt they received from the arquebuses, they tried to establish peace and friendship. For when the soldiers went to their work, they came out to them lovingly, offering them bunches of plantains and other fruits. It seemed that they felt the want of their houses, for they asked, by signs, when the Spaniards would go. Some came to the guards with food, which they gave to the soldiers. One native especially, of good presence, was taught to make the sign of the cross, and to say "Jesus Maria," and the rest. They were in conversation with their comrades, for each one had a comrade, whom they

sought out and sat with, when they came ; and by signs they asked each other the names of the sky, the earth, the sea, the sun, the moon and stars, and everything else within their vision. All were well content with what they said, calling each other friends and comrades. As this friendship was not without payment, there was a certain man who joyfully said to the General, that he had his dog well fed by the natives, by a forage he had made in the preceding night, when his company had the guard.

On another day eleven natives came in two canoes, and two of them stood up with some strings of cocoa nuts in their hands, and shouted while they showed them. Orders were given not to answer, and for the soldiers to be ready with their arquebuses. When the natives found that they were not answered, they came close to the ship, when a volley was fired. Two were killed. The soldiers shot three more, and throwing down what they had, the rest rowed away and fled. They were chased in a boat, but the natives got on shore and fled. Jumping on shore, only three were seen to run to the top of some high hills. Those in the boat took the canoes, with three dead bodies in them, for the rest had fallen into the sea. The cruelty of the Spaniards was such that there were not wanting those who said that the bullet wounds, so fierce and ugly, would frighten the other natives, and that the swords, making wide wounds, would have the same effect. In order that the natives might see, it was ordered that the bodies should be taken on shore, that the Camp Master might hang them up where they would be seen by the natives. It was said that this was done in order that the natives, if they came with false intent in their canoes, might know what the Spaniards could do. But it seemed to me that four armed ships had little to fear from unarmed natives in canoes. The Camp Master hung up the three natives in a place best adapted for the intended

object. A certain person came to see them, who gave one of the bodies a lance-thrust, and praised what had been done. At night the natives took the bodies away.

An evil example gives rise to licence, and reason conquers him who knows it. A certain person had an arquebus in his hut, and a friend of his loaded it, and pointed it to fire at the natives. The other took it out of his hands, and asked him what he was going to do with so much diligence. He replied, that his diligence was to kill, because he liked to kill. "It is not right," replied his friend, "that you should show such readiness to cause the death of men. What harm have these natives done to you that you should treat them with such cruelty? It is not valorous to show yourself a lion amongst lambs, nor to kill when it takes your fancy. If you do not know what a foul and sinful thing it is to murder a body which contains a soul, it is high time that you learned, and though it has weight it is not profitable."

The native who was friendly to the Chaplain came to the guard, and being seen by the General they embarked very joyfully, the native crying out, "Friend! Friend!" The Adelantado received him very cordially, offering him conserves and wine, but he would neither eat nor drink. He began to look at the sheep, and seemed to give them a name; he gazed at the ship and the rigging, counted the masts and sails, went below and noted everything with care, more so than is usual with a native. They told him to say "Jesus Maria," and to make the sign of the cross, which he did with great amusement, showed good will in all things, and presently he asked for persons to take him back to the shore. Such was the intelligence of this native that when he understood that the ships would depart, he showed regret, and wanted to go with us.

The Adelantado wanted to colonise these four islands, to make his business with them, and to leave thirty men,

some of them married. But the soldiers complained of this, and seeing their ill-will he gave up the idea.

It may be held as certain that two hundred natives were killed in these islands, for the impious and inconsiderate soldiers dropped one or two or three. Their evil deeds are not things to do, nor to praise, nor to allow, nor to maintain, nor to refrain from punishing if the occasion permits.

CHAPTER VII.

In which an account is given of the port, island, and inhabitants; of their customs, and other things.

THIS island of Santa Cristina is very populous, and lofty in the centre. It has its ravines and valleys, where the natives live. The port was named "Madre de Dios." Praise to her! It is in the western part, in latitude 9° 30′, sheltered from all winds, only excepting the west, which never was found to blow. Its shape is that of a horse-shoe, with a narrow mouth, and at the entrance it has a clear bottom of sand, with a depth of 30 fathoms, in the middle 24, and 12 near the beach. The marks by which it is known are a hill to the south, rising from the sea, having a peak terminating in three others on its summit; to the north a concave rock; within the port five wooded ravines, all coming down to the sea, and a hill which divides the little beaches of sand, having a stream of excellent water falling from a height of a man's stature and a half, the thickness of a fist, where the barrels can be filled. Near it there is a stream of equally good water, flowing near a village which the natives have there. So that waterfall, stream, and village are all on the shore, which is on the north side of the hill. On the south side of it there are houses scattered among the trees, To the east there are

high rocky hills, with some ravines whence the stream descends.

Some of the natives of these islands did not appear to be as white as those of Magdalena. They have the same form of speech, the same arms and canoes, with which they communicate. Their village is built on two sides of a square, one north and south, the other east to west, with the surroundings well paved. The rest is a space with very tall and thick trees. The houses appear to be for the community, after the manner of slave quarters, and open to wind and water, the floor being raised above that of the street. It appeared that many people were lodged in each house, for there were many bed-places, and these low. Some houses had low doors, and others had all the front open. They are of wood, interwoven with very large canes having joints of more than 5 *palmos*[1] in length, and of the thickness of a man's arm. The roof is of the leaves from the trees in the open space.

The Chief Pilot did not see anything of the women, because he did not land at the time that they came; but all who saw them reported that they had beautiful legs and hands, fine eyes, fair countenances, small waists, and graceful forms, and some of them prettier than the ladies of Lima, who are famed for their beauty. Respecting their complexion, if it cannot be called white, it is nearly white. They go with a certain covering from the breasts downwards.

Apart from the village there was an oracle surrounded by palisades, with the entrance on the west side. Within there was a house, almost in the middle, in which there were some wooden figures badly carved; and here were offerings of food and a pig, which the soldiers took.

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[1] A *palmo* is 8 inches, being a quarter of a *vara*, which is 32.9 inches.

Wanting to take other things, the natives interfered, saying they must not take anything, showing that they respected that house and the figures.

Outside the village they had some very long and well-made canoes of a single tree, with the form of a keel, bow, and stern, and with boards well fastened with ropes made from cocoa fibre. In each one there is room for thirty or forty natives as rowers; and they gave us to understand, when they were asked, that they went in these large canoes to other lands. They work with adzes, which they make of thick fish-bones and shells. They sharpen them with large pebbles, which they have for the purpose.

The temperature, health, vigour, and corpulence of these people tell what the climate must be under which they live. One suffers cold at night, but the sun does not cause much molestation by day. There were some showers, not heavy; dew was never felt, but very great dryness, so much so that wet things, when left out all night on the ground, were found quite dry in the morning. But we could not tell whether this was so all the year round.

They saw pigs, and fowls of Castille, and the fishery is certain wherever there is sea.

The trees which have been mentioned as being in the open space before the village yield a fruit which reaches to the size of a boy's head. Its colour, when it is ripe, is a clear green, and when unripe it is very green. The rind has crossed scales like a pineapple, its shape not quite round, being rather more narrow at the end than near the stem. From the stem grows a leaf-stalk reaching to the middle of the fruit, with a covering sheath. It has no core nor pips, nor anything uneatable except the skin, and that is thin. All the rest is a mass of pulp when ripe, not so much when green. They feed much upon it in all sorts of ways, and it is so wholesome that they call it white food. It is a good fruit and of much substance. The leaves of

the tree are large, and much serrated, like those of the papay.[1]

They found many caves full of a kind of sour dough, which the Chief Pilot tasted. There is another fruit covered on the outside with prickles like a chestnut, but each as big as six of Castille, with nearly the same taste. Its shape is like a heart, flattened. They eat many, roast and boiled, and leave them on the trees to ripen.

There are nuts the size of those of Castille, and appear to be almost the same in taste. The outside is very hard and without joint, and its kernel is not attached to the rind, so that it comes out easily and entire when opened. It is an oily fruit. They ate and took away many of them.

They saw calabashes of Castille sown on the beach, and some red flowers pleasant to look on, but without smell. As our people did not go inland, and all the natives retreated into the woods, as has been said, this is all that can be related. The soldiers said that all the trees appeared to bear fruit.

Our men were very well received by the natives, but it was not understood why they gave us a welcome, or what was their intention. For we did not understand them; and to this may be attributed the evil things that happened, which might have been avoided if there had been some one to make us understand each other.

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[1] The earliest description of the bread fruit.

CHAPTER VII.

How the Adelantado departed from this island, and how the murmuring began among the soldiers by reason of faults and of not finding the land.

WHILE the Adelantado was at this island he ordered the galeot to be repaired, for one day, before anchoring, she was in great danger from having fouled the bowsprit of the *Capitana.* He also ordered wood and water to be got on board, the people to be embarked, and the ships to be got ready. On the 5th of August he raised three crosses, each one in its place, and another was cut on a tree, with the day and year. He then weighed, and made sail in search of the islands of his first discovery. A course was shaped W.S.W., with the wind E. varying to S.E. In this way, sometimes altering course to N.W. and due west, they sailed for about 400 leagues.

After three or four days, the Adelantado said that on that day they would see the land of which they were in search, news which greatly rejoiced the people. But, looking in all directions, they neither saw land on that day nor on many days afterwards; and for this reason the soldiers began to say things, and to conspire because the voyage was so prolonged. There was scarcity of food and water, for at the news of the proximity of land the people had indulged themselves freely. Now they began to show slackness and suspicion. It is no cause for surprise that in such enterprises those who have to bear the blame and the responsibility should be the chief workers as well as the chief sufferers.

On Sunday, the 20th of August, having covered the said 400 leagues, the dawn found us close to four small and low islands, with sandy beaches, and many palm and other trees. Together they appeared to be 8 leagues in circum-

ference, more or less. They are in a square, very close to each other. From S.W. to N.E., and towards E. there are banks of sand, where there are no means of entrance, and a point was found in the reef which goes more to S.W. The General gave the name of "San Bernardo" to these islands, as it was that saint's day. He wanted to find a port among these islands, but desisted at the request of the Vicar. It was not known whether they were inhabited, although the people in the galeot said they had seen canoes, but this was believed to be a mistake. The islands are in 10° 20′ S., and in longitude 400 leagues from Lima.

Passing these four islands the wind came from S.E., which always blows, sometimes with light showers, and thick dense cloud-masses were not wanting. These masses were of various colours, and, strangely enough, they formed themselves into various figures, and in contemplating them they remained for a long space of time. Sometimes they were so fixed that they were not dissipated during the whole day. As they were in an unknown direction, it was thought that they were indications of land. We continued to steer a westerly course, sometimes N.W. and S.W., always in latitudes in accordance with the will and instructions of the General, which were not to go higher than 12° or lower than 8°. Generally we were in 10° to 11°.

On Tuesday, the 29th of August, we sighted a low round island covered with trees, and surrounded by a reef which rose above the water. It was about a league in circumference, and in latitude 10° 40′ S., distant from Lima 1,535 leagues. As it was by itself, it was named "Solitaria." The Adelantado ordered the two small vessels to go in shore and seek for a port, so as to get wood, of which the *Almiranta* was much in need, and to see if water could be procured, of which there was also much scarcity. They anchored in 10 fathoms, and with loud cries told the General to stand off, as the bottom was full of great rocks.

They were going and coming with the sounding line sometimes finding 10 fathoms, at others 100 fathoms. There was no bottom in places, and to see the vessel among such rocks aroused alarm. There was no want of haste to get her away into the open sea. All round this island there are a great number of rocks, and the channel between these rocks is to the south.

At this time the soldiers, being influenced by their privations, and wearied from the disappointment of their hopes, formed both public and private assemblies to murmur and talk, which was a dissolution of discipline, and an indication of what would happen afterwards.

The Camp Master (as has been said) was somewhat violent, and he had quarrels with many people in the ship. In fine, experience and time taught me what should be said, and I saw what should be done with regard to his evil behaviour and menaces. In general we said as follows: "We do not come here to lose but to gain. The Camp Master orders things for the King's service, as the King desires he should order them, and we all have to obey. Do your duty, and leave the things that do not belong to it. Avoid insults and threats to the stick, for we will not suffer it. With so small a company so many heads may be dispensed with. Our General is enough, for we are not going where the usages of Flanders or of Italy are needed; nor are we naked Indians, and for us death-dealing soldiers are not necessary; but we are courageous and well-intentioned persons. Above all, we must watch the General and the Camp Master, that each one may do his part, and carefully and in detail give an account of what he may succeed in hearing; while they conceal things in such a manner that, when asked about them, they know nothing." For unjust eyes have been turned upon those who are far from any fault, and these, when they wish to defend themselves, it would be necessary to have

angels for their sureties, for there is no place for a fair hearing.

There was little reason, and so life was passed, many saying that there was an end of it, for that we should never find the land; that there was no necessity for so much rule, death being certain. Others said that the Isles of Solomon had fled away, or that the Adelantado had forgotten the place where they were to be found, or that the sea had risen and covered them. Others said that, to call himself a Marquis and advance his own relations, he had taken them, with 400 pounds of biscuit, to perish in that great gulf, to go to the bottom and fish for those wonderful pearls he had talked about. They put forward their arguments and said one thing and another: that we had navigated for so many days in 10°, and the islands we seek are said to be in the same latitude, and yet they are not to be found. Either we have passed them, or they do not exist, for by this road we shall go round the world, or at least we shall come at last to Great Tartary. Neither the Chief Pilot, nor the other Pilots, nor the Adelantado, know where they are taking us to, nor where we are at present. They could easily give or take away rewards to whom they chose, and follow their own likings.

The Pilots of the other ships said that they took their vessels on rocks and over the land, because the place where they were painted had been rubbed off for many days, owing to the great and little height they had navigated; and they said other things which were for the soldiers. Also, there were those who said that in hard times and long voyages the soldiers know their true friends.

The Chief Pilot, against whom there were suspicions that he would never find the sought-for land, knowing that they had passed far beyond the longitude given by the Adelantado, and yet that he was the authority to whom

they all turned, spoke to the General with a view to consoling the soldiers, who were so afflicted. He answered, that they had also said to him that all would be lost. The Chief Pilot, for satisfaction on his part, said many things in a loud voice, and concluded by saying: "Hear me, and do not answer to what is said. Hold yourselves in the belief that my words merit, for consider that I did not come to navigate in order that I myself might perish." The Captain, Don Lorenzo, then came forward with some remarks very far from the mark, to whom the Chief Pilot answered: "Those who do not understand the affair, why should they speak to others?" After these discourses there were those who complained, saying among themselves: "This business is very different from what it was supposed to be. Here there is neither honour nor life, as we are all companions who live in this house without doors, and without tokens of friendship." But there did not want those who said: "What hospitals have been founded or served by those that desire to please God and obtain their desires? Take what is given us with joyful faces, for this is the best way; and this being so, what is wanting will be that which need not concern us."

CHAPTER VIII.

How an island was discovered, that of the volcano was examined, and the loss of the *Almiranta*.

THESE complaints caused much suffering to the Adelantado, making him avoid both public and private sins, which he did as much as was in his power, and giving an example in order to obtain peace for all. With the beads in his hand, and without loss of a day, he ordered the "Salve" to be raised before the image of Our Lady of Solitude, which the Chief Pilot had brought for his own

devotions. He also caused the vespers of Holy Days to be solemnly observed, banners to be displayed, and streamers to be hoisted, while warlike instruments were played. To practice the soldiers this was done every afternoon, others assisting as much as they could, although it should entail additional work.

In this state was the *Capitana* when the *Almiranta* asked the Adelantado for a boat-load of wood, saying that, for want of fuel, they had burnt boxes, and were using the upper works of the ship. This was granted, and on another day the Admiral came on board the *Capitana* to greet the Adelantado, as was customary. He then told the General of his necessities, and begged that they would not part company, and with this promise they were rejoiced. He sought for succour as regards water, saying that he only had nine jars left. The Admiral showed much despondency, saying that the defects of his ship were numerous, but that he was determined to die with his people, because for that he had come. The Adelantado did what he could to cheer him, and ordered him to make sail, saying that the islands could not be far off. The Master represented that, owing to there being little ballast, the ship was very crank, and for this reason she would not bear much sail; that there were one hundred and eighty persons on board, and that he hoped he would at least give them twenty jars of water. The Adelantado, although at that time he had more than four hundred jars full, would not give one, for the report seemed to him false.

With these and other misfortunes they sailed on until the 7th of September, when, with a rather fresh S.E. breeze, the ship only had a foresail on her without a bonnet,[1] steering west. There was seen ahead a mass of dark smoke, for which reason the Chief Pilot ordered the galeot

[1] Piece of canvas laced to the foot of the mainsail and foresail.

and frigate to go on, keeping in sight of each other, and see what land or reefs there were, and to report by burning two lights, and two others in reply or in warning. But they were to return before nightfall.

With this anxious doubt they continued to navigate with the care that such a night made necessary. At 9 the *Almiranta* was seen, and at 11, on the port side, there was a great and thick mass of cloud, which covered the horizon in that direction. The sailors, and all who turned their eyes upon it, were doubtful whether it was land. The fog raised its curtain, which was in the form of a dense shower, and land was clearly seen, less than a league distant. It was announced in the customary way, in a loud voice, and all hands came out to see. The galeot made many signals to the other ships, and, though the night was dark, they could be seen at a great distance. The two ships answered, but no signal was seen from the other. The night was passed praying to God to send the day. When it came, a point was seen rather dark and rounded, being covered with trees, looking very beautiful; but, looking round for the *Almiranta*, she was nowhere to be seen; on which every one was sad and anxious, showing the feeling that it was natural they should have. It was Mariana de Castro, the Admiral's wife, who felt it most, for she blamed herself, and wept continually. The General, though he wished to do so, could not dissimulate, for all saw that his thoughts were bitter. What may be said is, that he was always apprehensive of the loss of this ship, for many reasons which might be given, some of which were spoken at Saña, now at a distance of 1,085 leagues. Next day, at dawn, they were repeated by a native woman, who mourned for the loss of a soldier, a friend of hers, who was in the ship.

When the daylight appeared, they beheld a single pointed mountain rising out of the sea like a sugar-loaf,

all cut out, and to the S.E. another small hill. It seemed to be distant about three leagues, being eight from the island, and it has no port, nor any place where one could jump on to the slope. It is quite bare, there being no trees nor anything green. There are some crevices, two especially on the west side, and out of them as well as from the summit of the mountain, a great quantity of sparks and fire came out with much noise. It may be said with truth that ten volcanoes together do not send forth such flames as this one does by itself. When it was first sighted it was not seen to send out flames. It had a very well-formed peak; but, a few days after we anchored at the island, it threw off its crown with a great trembling, insomuch that, being 10 leagues distant from it where we were anchored, we heard it, and it moved the ship. From that time forward, every now and then, there were mighty thunderings within the mountain at the time that the flames burst forth; and when they finished, there was so much and such dense smoke, that it seemed to cover the whole concave of the first heaven.[1]

The Adelantado gave orders to the frigate to sail round the volcano, which was to the west, to see if perchance the *Almiranta* was on the other side of it, and was becalmed under the land, and then to proceed in the direction of the island. He also ordered the soldiers to be confessed, and, to set an example, he himself confessed in public. The Vicar also persuaded them, for they were about to visit an unknown land, where enemies and dangers would not be wanting.

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[1] This is the island of Tinakula, an active volcano rising 3,000 feet above the sea in a most perfectly shaped cone, to the north of the island of Santa Cruz. The volcano is still in full activity. It is in lat. 10° 24′ S., long. 165° 45′ W.

CHAPTER IX.

How a great number of canoes came out to the ships from the land; gives an account of them and of the natives, and of the rest that took place until they went into port.

BEING near this island, there came out from it a large canoe with a sail, and behind it a fleet of fifty smaller canoes, the people in them calling to the ships with shouts and waving of hands, our men, though doubtfully, calling in return. They arrived. The natives in them were of a black colour; some of them tawny, with frizzled hair; many of them having it white, red, and of other colours. It certainly must have been dyed, and half of it removed from the head in some, and there were other differences. They were all naked. Their teeth were dyed red. Part of their bodies was covered with woven stuff, and all were painted with lines blacker than their own colour, and they had lines on their faces and bodies. They had many turns of a black reed round their arms, and many strings of very small beads of bone and fish's teeth round their necks, and many plates of mother-of-pearl, small and great, hanging from various parts. The canoes were small, and some came fastened together, two and two, with frames rather high, as counterpoises, like those of the former islands. Their arms were bows, with arrows having very sharp points of toasted wood, and others with bone harpoon-shaped points. Some were feathered, with the point anointed, and carried in quivers. The ointment appeared to be from a herb. Although they do little harm, they carry stones, clubs of heavy wood, which are their swords, and darts of stout wood, with three rows of harpoons, in length more than a *palmo*[1] to the points. They carried

[1] 8.346 inches.

from a shoulder-belt a kind of bag, well worked, and full of biscuits, made from a certain root, which they were all eating as they came along, and readily gave away some of it. When the Adelantado saw their colour, he took them for the people he was in search of, and said: "This is such and such an island or land." He spoke to them in the language he had learnt during his first voyage, but they never understood him, nor did he understand them.

They went on to look at the ships, and all went chattering round them; but they would not come on board, though we tried to persuade them. On the contrary, after consulting, they took their arms quickly, apparently incited by a tall and lean old native who was in the front, and without more ado they drew their bows ready to shoot. The old man addressed them, the word was passed from one to the other, and for some time there was indecision; but, finally, their resolution was formed, and, giving a shout, they shot off all their bows, and sent many arrows into the sails and on other parts of the ship, without doing any other harm. Seeing this, orders were given to the soldiers, who were ready, to fire their arquebuses. Some were killed, many others were wounded, and they all fled in great terror. They were followed in the boat by four arquebusiers, and overtaken. Two jumped into the water to save their lives, who were spared, and the rest, jumping out on the beach, hid themselves among the trees.

We stood off and on, seeking for a port, which all so much desired, with the patience taught by the severe work they had gone through, understanding that a landing would bring us certain refreshment. The frigate came back without having seen the *Almiranta*, which aroused our grief and fear afresh, and all three vessels anchored at the mouth of a bay, under the shelter of some rocks. The bottom was dangerous, and with the rising tide the galeot got adrift at about 10 in the evening. Seeing the danger of

driving on the rocks, the General came out to give courage to the men, and raise the anchors. The noise and hurry was great, the danger being imminent, and the night time made it appear greater than it was. The negligence of the soldiers was reprehensible, and there were not wanting those who cried out: "The services which merit approval from the King are neither these cares nor want of care. Let the brave Peruvians go below, and let those who get the credit do the work. This ship must be looked after among them, for it is for their credit, and to save their own lives." They did not want to work, and had no shame; but, without their help, God was served by our getting up the anchors. Having made sail, the ship got out into the open sea, though not without some difficulty, for the waves came on board and made her heel over.

At dawn the Adelantado went on board the galeot to seek for a port; and the Chief Pilot found one, though small. The volcano bore N.W. The port was sheltered to the S.E., and had 12 fathoms of depth, a village, a river, fuel and timber, and fresh air. The Adelantado came back without having found a port, and the ships entered the bay. As it was late they anchored under a point. The Sergeant landed with twelve arquebusiers to secure a position. The natives of the village came out, and shot off arrows with such force, that our men were obliged to take refuge in a hut. Two volleys were fired from the ship, which put the natives to flight, and the boat was sent for the men. All that night the ships were at sea, and the next day the Adelantado found a harbour sheltered from all winds, where he anchored in 15 fathoms, and near the shore, where there were villages and a river. All night the noise of music and dancing was heard, striking drums and tambourines of hollow wood, at which the natives passed their time.

CHAPTER X.

How the natives came to see the ships; how they found another better port; of the *guazabra* that the natives gave; and what happened until the settlement was formed.

HAVING anchored in the place already mentioned, many natives came to see the ships and our people. Most of them had red flowers in their hair and in their nostrils, and some of them were persuaded by our people to come on board the ships, leaving their arms in the canoes. Among them there came a man of fine presence and tawny-coloured skin, with plumes on his head of blue, yellow, and red, and in his hand a bow, with arrows pointed with carved bone. On either side of him were two natives, with more authority than the rest. We understood this man to be a personage, both because he appeared to be greater than the others, and because of the respect with which he was treated. Presently he came forward, and asked by signs who was our chief. The Adelantado received him with much love, and, taking him by the hand, let him know who he was. He said that his name was Malope, and the Adelantado said that his was Mendaña. Malope understood, and said that henceforward his name should be Mendaña, and that Mendaña's name should be Malope. When this exchange of names had been effected, he showed that he put great value on it, and when anyone called him Malope he said No, that his name was Mendaña; and pointing with his finger to the Adelantado, he said that was Malope.

He also said that he was called *Jauriqui:* that name appearing to mean chief or captain. The Adelantado dressed him in a shirt, and gave him a few trifles of little value. To other natives the soldiers gave feathers, little bells, glass beads, bits of cloth and cotton, and even playing-cards, all which they put round their necks. They taught

the natives to say "friends," and to make a cross with two fingers, embracing them in token of peace, all which they did learn and constantly practised. They showed them looking-glasses, and with razors they shaved their heads and chins, and with scissors they cut their finger and toe-nails, at all which they rejoiced and were astonished; but they begged hard for the razors and scissors. They also found out what was under the men's clothes, and, being undeceived, they played monkey tricks, such as those used by the natives of the first islands.

This continued for four days, and they came and went, and brought what food they had. One day Malope came, for he was the one whose visits were most frequent, and who showed most friendship, the ships being anchored near his village. The natives assembled with fifty canoes, in which they had their arms concealed, all waiting for Malope, who was on board the *Capitana.* They all fled because they saw a soldier take up an arquebus, and made for the shore, our people following them. On the beach there was another crowd of people, who received them with joy, and they had a great consultation. The soldiers were disappointed at such signs of peace, and would have preferred that they should have given occasion to break the peace and make war.

On that same afternoon the natives took all they possessed in the nearest houses, and retreated to the village of Malope. On the following night there were great fires on the other side of the bay, lasting nearly until morning, which seemed to be a signal for war; and this was confirmed when canoes were seen going in great haste from one village to another, as if they were warning or giving notice of something.

Next morning a boat was sent from the galeot to take in water at an adjacent stream. While they were thus employed, some concealed natives shouted and fired off

arrows, which wounded three of our men. They followed down to the boat, where they were repulsed by the arquebusiers. The wounded were attended to, and the Adelantado at once ordered the Camp Master to land with thirty men, and to do all the harm they could with fire and sword. The natives stood their ground, when five were killed, and the rest fled. Our people retreated, and, embarking, came back to the ships, having cut down palm trees and burnt some huts and canoes. They brought away three pigs, which they killed.

On the same day the Adelantado sent the Captain, Don Lorenzo, in the frigate, with twenty soldiers and seamen, to seek for the *Almiranta*, with instructions to examine all the coast that was in sight, and to return to the place where they anchored on the first night of seeing the land. Thence he was to steer W. and N.W., which was the direction the *Almiranta* might have taken, beyond the route taken by the *Capitana*, and he was to see whether anything could be found in that direction.

He also ordered the Camp Master to rise early, and go quickly with forty soldiers to some huts which were near a hill, to punish the natives for having hit our men with arrows, in order that, by means of the chastisement inflicted on them, it might have the effect of preventing greater evils. He arrived without alarming the natives, occupied the paths, surrounded the houses, and set them on fire. Seven natives who were inside, seeing the fire and the people, defended themselves like brave men, and attacked our soldiers without regard for their own lives. Six were killed, and the other escaped by running, but was badly wounded. The Camp Master came back to the ship with seven wounded men and five dead pigs.

In the afternoon Malope came to the beach, for the houses and canoes that had been burnt belonged to him. In a loud voice, he cried to the Adelantado by the name of

Malope, saying: "Malope! Malope!" and beating on his own breast, saying: "Mendaña, Mendaña!" In this way he made his complaint, showing the harm they had done him by pointing with his finger. He also made signs that his people had not shot arrows at our men, but that the aggressors came from the other side of the bay. He strung his bow, intending that we should all go against them, and that his people would help us in taking vengeance. The Adelantado called him with the intention of explaining matters; but he did not come. He went away, returning on another day, and friendship was restored.

On the day of St. Matthew, Apostle and Evangelist, they made sail from this port, steering for another which was better and more convenient, at a distance of half a league, and in the same bay. While altering our berth, the Captain, Don Lorenzo, came back with the news that in sailing round the island he had found another bay not less good than the one in which we were, and with more people and canoes; also, that further on he saw two fair-sized islands, near the large island, which were thickly peopled. To the S.E., at a distance of 8 leagues, he saw another island; 9 or 10 leagues to E.N.E. from where we hove to for the night when we first sighted land, he came on three islands, one 7 leagues round and the two others very small. They were all inhabited by brown people of a clear colour, covered with palm trees; and many reefs ran out to W.N.W., with openings and channels, of which no end was seen.[1] No sign whatever was seen of the ship of which they were in search.

We anchored in the second port, and the natives passed the whole night in shouting, as if they were bull-fighting or having games, and very clearly we heard the word

[1] Nupani, Nukapu, and several other small reef islands north of Santa Cruz.

"amigo," and presently shouts. In this and making fires the night was passed. When morning dawned, a troop of about five hundred natives came to the beach, all with their weapons in their hands, menacing and hurling arrows, darts, and stones at the ships in hostile fashion. Seeing that their missiles did not reach, some of them advanced into the water up to their breasts, while others began to swim; in short, all were equal in willingness, diligence, and noise. They came so near that, grappling with the buoys of the ships, they went on shore with them. Seeing their audacity, the Adelantado ordered Captain Lorenzo, his brother-in-law, to take fifteen soldiers in the boat, and to skirmish with them. Those with shields protected the arquebusiers and rowers, so that only two were hit, but there would have been more if it had not been for the shields, which were passed from place to place. The natives fought in very scattered formation and by rushes, but showed themselves to be valorous, so that it was understood that we had met with a people who knew well how to defend their homes. But this only lasted during the time that our arms did not do the harm that they did and saw. As soon as they were undeceived by the death of two or three, and several wounded, they retreated from the beach, and, abandoning their aggressive attitude, took the road to their homes, carrying the dead and wounded, creeping with the speed that we gave them into the woods. They carried the wounded in their arms, and helped others to walk, leaving the trail of their own blood where they went.

The Captain, Don Lorenzo, although he had no orders to land, followed the natives with his men, and the Camp Master, who was watching everything from the ship, shouted that the men were being placed in risk, and that if he was in another place he would punish one who assumed a licence that had not been given to him. Doña

Isabel felt this very much, and wished it to be understood that, being her brother, for him there was no limit of licence in things military. The Camp Master landed with thirty soldiers, and went in pursuit of the natives, but as he would not wait, he had nothing to report.

It may be looked upon as certain that the Camp Master had said to the Captain, Don Lorenzo, that if he would not obey he was not fit to be a Captain; that he must pull up and know his duty, and that there were not wanting those who would teach him. When this came to the knowledge of Doña Isabel, she said things which were very deeply felt by the Camp Master; who did not come back, but went alone to pass the night at one of the villages of the natives which was near, and all that night silence was well kept.

CHAPTER XI.

How they began to treat of a settlement, and what passed in forming it, and the complaints of the soldiers.

THE following day, the Camp Master being on shore, he proposed to the soldiers to clear a place which was close to a large stream, and to found a settlement. The soldiers were not pleased with the place, which appeared to be unhealthy, and for this reason some of the married men went on board to inform the Adelantado of the determination of the Camp Master, and to ask leave to go on shore and settle in one of the native villages, where the houses were ready built and the place already used. Others represented that there was no better place than the one selected, and that if the natives had not settled there, it was a token of their bad disposition. If not, they could do what seemed best.

The Adelantado agreed to this, and went on shore. As the unmarried men were of the same opinion as the Camp Master, they at once got out axes, wood knives, and spades, and began to cut down trees with smooth trunks, lofty and tufted, but with very diverse leaves. The Adelantado was not at all pleased at the decision, for it was his intention to form the settlement on a bare point near the entrance of the bay, where he went with the Camp Master and the soldiers. All came with the opinion that the land was like Andalusia, that the natives had many farms, and for a settlement that the place was as good as it was agreeable.

The soldiers cut down the trees with good will, brought poles with which they built huts, and branches of palms to roof them. Their former work and troubles, and the gift they had left behind, were forgotten, as well as the small store they then had. They did not remember their country, nor that they had left the province of Peru, so rich and extensive, where there is no man who is poor in hopes. They would overcome all the difficulties of which they were told, and which were before their eyes, for their God and their King. The spirit and valour of Spaniards could do all, for neither labour nor ill fortune could daunt them, nor could dangers, however terrible and fearful they might be. So they built their houses and set up their tents, each one doing the best he could, as a beginning of what they would have to perform in parts where they would live and end with honour and fame. The Devil was able to work so well with some of them, that they kept in mind the delights of Lima; and this sufficed to rob the rest of their lofty thoughts, and thus to abate that constancy which it is necessary to preserve and maintain in such affairs.

The Adelantado did not disembark, but gave his orders for the good government of his people from the ship. But

the soldiers, to whom a limit to what they are permitted to do seldom or ever seems good, began to complain of an order which the Adelantado had given. It had reference to the good treatment of the natives, their houses and property. Those were not wanting who said that they did not want to have a division but a moderate profit, that it was sufficient that they had been brought to that coast, and that all belonged to them. In other ways they noted and reminded themselves of what they had spent and left behind, and of what they had suffered, and of their hopes. Hence complaints arose, and too surely they began to lose their love and loyalty point by point.

CHAPTER XII.

In which a particular account is given of this bay, the natives, the port, the villages and food, with what else was seen.

THIS bay, to which the Adelantado gave the name of "Graciosa," for so it is, has a circuit of 40½ leagues. It runs N.N.E. and S.S.W., and is at the western end of the island, on its north side, and south of the volcano. Its mouth is half a league wide, and there is a reef on the east side, but the entrance is very open. The bay is formed by an island to the westward, which is very fertile and well peopled, both on the shore and inland. We called it our garden, "Huerta."[1] It is separated from the large island by a short space, full of rocks and reefs, with some small channels, so that only boats and canoes can pass. The port is at the bottom of the bay, where there is a very copious stream of clear and excellent water, which, at the distance of a musket shot, runs under some rocks and so enters the sea. The settlement was formed on the banks

[1] In lat. 10° 40′ S., long. 165° 45′ 30″ W.

of this stream and of the sea. To the east of the stream, at the distance of an arquebus shot, there is a moderate-sized river. The port is in 10° 20′ S., and 1,850 leagues from Lima. There are breezes from the S.E., which do little harm. The bottom is mud, with 40, 30, and 20 fathoms, and anchorage close to the shore. In all this bay there is no place for a ship to anchor except in the port, and in the first, which we left because it was small. Over all the rest there is foul ground owing to rocks. There is another spring on a beach of clean sand, of excellent water, and a river and stream, which flow near the houses of Malope, and there enter the sea.

In this country there are many pigs, which they roast whole over stones. There are fowls like those of Castille, many of them white. They fly up into the trees and breed there; also partridges, like those of Castille, or of another kind very like them.

There are large wild pigeons, grey, with white necks, small doves, herons, black and white, ducks, swallows, and other birds which I do not know. Of reptiles I only saw some black lizards, and ants, but no mosquitos: a new thing in such a low latitude.

There are many kinds of fish. The natives fish with three-pronged poles which they have, large, and many of them. The line appears to be of fibre, with floats of light wood, and sinkers of stone.

They have many plantains, of seven or eight kinds. Some are reddish, and as broad as the width of a hand; others of the same colour, but very small and tender, even when ripe. Some have the rind green, and the pulp not so green. There are others very large, twisted with one turn, which are of a delicious taste and smell. Each bunch has many plantains.

There are great numbers of cocoa-nut trees and very large sweet canes. There are also almonds with three

sides, and the pulp of each one contains as much as four almonds of Castille, the taste being delicious. There are some very beautiful pines of the size of a man's head, with the kernels the size of a Spanish almond. The trees on which they grow have few leaves, and those they have are large. There is another kind of very good nuts, which grow in very large and long bunches on small trees with round leaves, and each one, with its rind, will be of the size and shape of a date. There is also the large fruit which we praised much at the first islands, and the nuts and chestnuts like the others. There is another fruit which they called a pippin. It grows on a tall and large tree, and another kind which is not so good, the way of growing being like that of pears. As we did not go all over the land, nor were there all the year round, it is not known what other fruits there may be.

There are three or four kinds of roots, all in abundance, which form their bread, and they eat them roast or boiled. One of them has a sweet taste, the other two prick a little when eaten. A soldier ate one raw, from which a great nausea resulted, but he was none the worse. Of these roots the natives make a great quantity of biscuits, dried either in the sun or by fire. They keep them in baskets of palm leaves. This food is sustaining. It has the drawback of being rather heating, but much is eaten of it, and of the roots roasted and boiled, and in pots.

There is plenty of fibre, which throughout the east is used as cord.

There are large and red amaranths, greens, and a sort of calabash, plenty of sweet basil with a very strong smell, and several kinds of red flowers beautiful to look at, which the natives are very fond of. They have no smell. They train them on small trees, and have them in small pots near their houses.

There is plenty of ginger, which grows without being

sown. There is also a great quantity of a tall branching shrub called indigo, from which the indigo dye is made. There are aloe trees, much *demajagua*,[1] from which they make their cords and nets, as well as from the cocoa-nuts, though not so much.

There are shells like the curious ones that are brought from China, and pearl oyster-shells, some large and others small.

In our settlement, on the banks of the stream, there was a tree which the natives wound in the trunk, and there comes out a liquor of a sweet smell, which is very like turpentine, and with this, or another mixed with it, they fill their calabashes. The natives make bags and purses of palm very well worked, and large sheets or mats which serve as sails for their canoes. They weave a fabric—I do not know from what it is woven—on some small looms they make, which serve for mantles, with which the women are clothed.

I have already said that the natives are black and tawny, and they are like the people we have among ourselves of those colours. They make great use of a root which is also used in the East Indies, called betel, and in the Philippines *buhio*. It is a cordate-shaped leaf of the size of a hand, more or less, its smell, taste, and colour like a clove. They put lime with it, apparently got from shells, and fruit the size of acorns, which grows on wild palms. They spit out the first chewing, and keep the pulp that is left. It is well spoken of as wholesome, and strengthening to the stomach, as well as good for the teeth.

Their villages consist of twenty houses, more or less, and they build them round, of boards one over the other, on a single frame of stout wood. They have two lofts, to which they ascend by ladders, with roofs of interlaced

[1] Not a Spanish word.

palms, like hen lofts in Castille. They are all open, half the height of a man, and surrounded by a wall of loose stones, with an opening instead of a door. The eaves do not reach to the boards of the roof, and serve as a shelter. In each village there is a long house, used as an oracle, with human figures in half relief, badly carved, and another long house, which appeared to be for the community. In the centre of them there were *barbacoas* of cane. There are ten or twelve of these villages on the sea shore, and in each one or two wells, curiously lined with stones, with steps such as are in use among us, by which they go down, and the opening has its covering of boards. On the shore there are some yards encircled by stones where, when the sea rises, they fish with a certain contrivance, having a pole worked like a pump-handle.

They have some large and beautiful canoes, with which they navigate to a distance, for the small ones only serve to go for short distances from their homes. They are flat-bottomed, made of a single tree from stem to stern. They have their hatchway in the middle, out of which they take the water which comes in by the mast. They fix a frame of crossed sticks, very securely fastened with cords, from which comes an outrigger with a cross plank, which steadies the canoe, and prevents it from capsizing. In this way one such vessel will serve for thirty or more men with their things. The sail is large, and made of matting, wide above and narrow below. The canoes are good sailers and weatherly. Our frigate succeeded in getting one, and hoisted her up, under the bowsprit.

They have their cultivated patches, and fruit gardens well ordered. The soil is black, spongy, and loose. The parts that are sown are first well cleared. The temperature is the same as that of other lands in the same latitude. There was some thunder and lightning, and many showers, but not much wind.

The Adelantado gave the name of SANTA CRUZ to the island. It appeared to have a circumference of 100 leagues. All the part which I saw runs almost east and west. It is well covered with trees. The land is not very high, though there are hills, ravines, and some beds of reeds. It is clear of rocks, and those that do exist are close to the land. It is well peopled all along the sea shore; but I cannot give an account of the interior, as I never explored it.

CHAPTER XIII.

How the trouble among the soldiers began with a paper and signatures; what the Adelantado said on the subject to certain soldiers; of some complaints that were made, and some disgraceful things that occurred.

AS has been said, the Adelantado did not land because no house had been built for him. So that he was in the ship, while the Camp Master was on shore and had charge of the ordering of things there. Our people began to seek for food, and whenever a leader with twelve or fifteen soldiers went to the villages of the natives (which were numerous and near our settlement), or to their cultivated patches, they always came back with from six to twelve pigs, many cocoa nuts and plantains, and everything else that the island supplies. They found the natives submissive and inclined to peace; for though it is true that at first they took to flight, afterwards they remained quietly in their houses, with their wives and children. They themselves brought supplies to near the camp. They were not allowed to enter, lest they should see how small were our numbers. The same was done by them as regards the ship, and their solicitude seemed to show that they were friends.

Malope also conducted himself in the same way, and from the goodwill that was shown by all, it seemed to us that the friendship with them was firmly established. It arrived at such a pitch that the Captain Don Lorenzo was able to make an agreement with the natives that they would come to help us to build the houses, praying that their own might be left to them, and showing much feeling when they were pulled down. One day, when they came the Vicar went out to them, and many with him. He made a cross with two poles, ordering all present to show reverence to it. Presently the natives did the same, and went with it to their village in procession.

Things being in this condition, there began to arise among the soldiers opinions very different from those of the Adelantado. They said that the land was wretched and very poor, that there was nothing in all the country, and that the position of the settlement was bad. They were dissatisfied with everything. What yesterday appeared very good to them now seemed very bad; guided by their fancies, and forgetful of the obligations of those who follow the banner of their King. At last a document was prepared with several signatures, in which the Adelantado was asked to take them away from that place and find a better one for them, or to take them to the islands he had talked about. The Adelantado had notice of the paper and signatures, through the gossip and the post which the Devil always has ready to carry tales. He fell ill at the trouble of seeing such a bad beginning to what he had hoped would have a good end. Seeing, however, into what disorder things were falling, he went on shore. Meeting one of those who had signed the paper, he said: "Is your worship a ringleader of the party? Do you not know that it is little less than mutiny to sign that paper?" The man replied, with the paper in his hand: "Here is what we want, and if anything else has been said it is a

lie." A soldier put forth another argument, and the Adelantado said: "Silence, for you have cause to hold your tongues." He then went on board again, and ordered the Pilot of the galeot to go on shore, where he was received by certain of the soldiers. It is reported that he said to them that they should leave that land, and that in less than thirty days he would take them to a better one.

In the midst of these troubles our church was built, for which there was a charitable promise in the future of 10,000 ducats; and each day the priest said mass in it.

They had to seek for food, and they cut much fibre to make ropes, collecting all they could get from the natives. Meanwhile the signing of the paper proceeded, and it was considered certain that there would be eighty signatures. Those who asked men to sign did not forget to make the most of the island, and to remind them of their hardships and hard work. Some of the men answered that there was the need to work everywhere, and that the work in that land was of a kind which was quite suitable to them.

The deaths of the natives took place in the following way. One of them, being in friendship with us, a soldier shot him in the neck, of which wound he presently died. The other, being in conversation, four soldiers called him apart, and killed him with stabs. These things were done with the object of inducing the natives to make war upon us, and thus produce a scarcity of provisions, so as to make it the desire of all to leave the island. Also it was thought that the natives attacking, the camp would have to be strengthened, the Adelantado would be applied to for the artillery, and he being disarmed they would remain strong. It was said that they wanted to kill some of us, I know not who, but certain persons were followed, with the object of taking their offices and giving them to friends of the disaffected. It was also said that it was intended to give

a false alarm at night, and, when those who were loyal to the Adelantado came out of their houses, to set upon them.

It was made public that, one night, a troop of armed malcontents came to enter a house where some loyal men were watching, and after they had pointed arquebuses at their breasts, they turned back and went into a tent. There they tried the beds, and, not finding the owners in them, who from fear had fled into the woods, they only terrified their wives. At another place they tried the place in a bed by driving a sword into it, and not feeling anything they went away. This was related by the people themselves. But as the stories wanted evidence, nothing was done. I say myself that a soldier said to me that others had asked him whether he wished to return to Peru; that he had answered in the affirmative, and seeing what his wishes were, they asked him to sign the paper they showed him, to be presented to the Adelantado. As soon as he had signed they said to him: "Now that you have signed you must have your weapons ready, and if you see the Adelantado and the Camp Master opposed, take the side of the Camp Master, and act like a good soldier. Point with your arquebus and fire. 'You are not told to kill unless," etc. The same thing was said on another occasion: "It is a pity, for at night I am disturbed lest they should not kill as many men as they want to kill."

Among the various proposals of the malcontents there was one that they should make gimlet holes in the ships, because it was not desirable that news should be taken to Peru, for the islands would not be found, even if search was made for them they would not be discovered, and thus either all would go or none. To this a well-intentioned person answered that the coming had been for the good of the people of those parts, and that if the King was not informed, so that succour might be sent, the service could

not be performed. This honourable answer so enraged the other that he raised his arm in anger, and said that "they would not be converted, a flock of sheep, and as they have been until now, so they will continue to be henceforward; but we are not going to die here when we can be saved." The other, continuing the conversation, said: "I should be fortunate if the Lord granted that I should be the means of one soul being saved; how much more when there are so many here to be saved." This plan of returning to Peru was so fixed in their minds, that they did not even like the Chief Pilot to go out to sea on the important business of his calling; saying, that if he went with the sailors he would not come back again. This had such an effect on the mind of the Adelantado, that he had all the sails unbent, and put them under guard. This was not the only false testimony that was borne; for another lie was told of another person. It was a small thing to take life, so long as they could gain their ends. But it was seen by experience that attempts against truth and innocence profit little, because the author of them is soon discredited. I can well say that the harm they intended me has been pardoned. A friend said to one of them: "Is your worship one of those who wish to leave this land?" The reply was: "What can we do here?" The other answered: "What we came to do! and if all others went away, I should remain to do my duty; and the friend who should deny this ought to be answered, without further ado, with a dagger in his blood."

This confused time was good for each one to declare his good will if he had it. Discontented and vacillating soldiers, when they saw no firmness, felt that the door was open for them to try the minds of others, and find out who was resolved and who was not. One said in public: "the Camp Master is my cock; all are afraid of him. What he orders is obeyed. Now things are ripening. Before

long we shall see something, and before long we shall have liberty." It was also said that the clothes of Doña Isabel were intended to last two years. Another said that he might think himself fortunate who could take his wife by the hand. Another said : "Such and such could stay, but we intend to go, let it give pain to whom it might pain, for in my kingdom I may rule." Such like nonsense would lead to death. It was also said : "We carry such a one as pilot, who is not known to the world. He will take us to the deserts of Chile, and with that we shall be contented, and we will go to Potosi." In short, each word that was said was mutinous and insubordinate. Well was this tower of confusion built up over the ashes of vindictiveness, vanity, and disordered ambition and avarice, the pests of such an enterprise. This it is to want understanding and prudence. Will it not bring ruin? Further on we shall see.

CHAPTER XIV.

How the Adelantado went on shore, and what happened, and what he said to the Camp Master; and the transaction between the Vicar and the Chief Pilot.

SEEING that there was so much disorder, the Adelantado determined to go on shore, where he met several soldiers with swords in their hands. He asked them why they carried them so, and one replied that it was because there was war. The Camp Master came to the Adelantado, and said : "It is well that your Lordship has come. It seems to me that these bellicose men go and come with complaints, and refer me to your Lordship; and if your Lordship does not apply a remedy, all those will be found some morning hanging from a tree"; and he pointed with his finger. To this the Adelantado answered with great

patience, and showing much sorrow. The Camp Master replied: "They are rascals who would not dare to take a crumb from a cat. Apart from your Lordship, whom I hold to be above my head (this with his hat in his hand), I do not care for any of them, from the smallest to the biggest, and I look upon them as the dirt under my feet, and none of them merits notice except myself, for I am a gentleman. All who are here, except your Lordship, want to go away and leave this land, but I must obey and serve your Lordship; God knows that if it had not been for me the honour of your Lordship would have been in the dust; and last night they would have killed all those who were in two of the houses if I had not prevented them. One is the house of such an one, and as to the other I will keep silence." They told me that he said more. I am not any longer informed about it. They can do what they like. On this day a soldier took the liberty to address the General. The Camp Master was present, and he quarrelled with the man. The Adelantado, seeing this, and considering the liberties that had been taken on other days, said: "Now they lose respect for me." The man was respectable, and was on the side and held the views of his chief, and would have stood by him, and for the honour of the King. But the Adelantado took him by the arm, and said: "This is not the time!"

The General paid several visits to the camp, to see if his presence would smooth matters. One day he met the Camp Master, and said to him: "For all that is happening the fault is your worship's, for you give the soldiers wings, and they suffer misrepresentation." The Camp Master answered: "The false statements are on board the ship, and I show no favour to the soldiers, but I make them respect your Lordship and obey you as governor."

On another occasion the Camp Master took the hand of the Adelantado, and complained of what Doña Isabel had

said of him. The Adelantado was more annoyed this time than on others. The Camp Master went away, and the Adelantado went to the *corps du garde.* He laid down on a chest, and showed much feeling. They had to help him to raise his feet on to it. Presently, the Chief Pilot and some others came, saying that he should not be troubled, and that all were his servants and would follow him. Having rested a little, he went on board, and repeated what he had said to the Camp Master. With arms in his hand the General came for me, and told me, that the Camp Master had said also what a thing it was not to have come provided, as was reasonable, and they had deceived him in not having brought two hundred axes and three hundred wood knives; for they had come to a land where neither God nor the King would be served by their arrival, and if this people were taken to another part it would be a great advantage. These things about the Camp Master I relate partly from the reports of others, for I do not myself remember them all very well.

The next time the Adelantado went on shore was to arrange and mark out with the Camp Master a site for a stockade to be used as a fort. Touching this, and the ground for sowing, and other matters relating to the administration of the settlement, he had to give his attention and to hear much folly. There were questions of entails, titles, relationships, and ownerships; such demands, replies and settlements; such wasting of time and breaking of heads. In fine, they did not trust each other. On this day two arquebusiers left the camp, and the ball of one of them went whizzing over the Chief Pilot, who was on board the *Capitana.* The other ball passed over the frigate, and I know not at what birds they were aiming.

On the following night the Chief Pilot was keeping watch, and at dawn Don Diego Barreto came in a canoe to speak to his brother-in-law. Having spoken to him, he

said to me that things had come to such a pass in the camp that it did not promise less than his death, and the deaths of his brothers and brother-in-law, with all those who remained true to their duty. At this time the Camp Master was saying on shore, "Arm! Arm!" The Chief Pilot ordered that the Constable should fire off a piece that was pointed at the village, sending the ball in the air, to terrify the natives, or at least to let them understand that we did not sleep without a dog. The noise of all ceased, and that of one voice sounded, saying that the General should send them powder and cord. We were deaf for the time, but at dawn we sent them what they asked for; asking at the same time the cause of the disturbance. The answer was that the branches of trees rubbed against the posts in one part of the camp, and, thinking it was the natives, they had sounded to arms.

On the same day the Vicar went on shore to say Mass, according to his custom; for he also still lived on board, there being no house for him in the camp. When he returned in the afternoon, he said to the Chief Pilot: "Those people will go without fail." The Chief Pilot asked where they would go. The Vicar replied, "I only know what I say;" and the Pilot said: "What sailors have they to take them? Will they kill us, or use force?" The Vicar said Yes; that all were determined to do so. He asked the Chief Pilot to procure that the soldiers should be appeased, for if they should go the natives will be the losers. He shrugged his shoulders, saying that with very good will he would spend four years there, teaching the natives. The Pilot answered: "A month has not even passed since we arrived. How can there be so little firmness in honourable men?"

CHAPTER XV.

How the Chief Pilot asked leave to go, in the name of the General, to speak to the soldiers on shore, and what passed between them.

THE next day, being a Friday, the Chief Pilot, seeing the determination of the men in the camp, from what the Vicar had said, and the illness and low spirits of the Adelantado, asked permission to go on shore and speak to the soldiers in his name. The Adelantado answered: "I know not whether those people will listen to anything in my favour and that of the land, being so determined, and having declared that they would have their own way." The Pilot went to him a second time, and at last he consented. So the Chief Pilot went on shore, and the first person he met, with a scornful gesture, and his head turned derisively, said: "Are you ordered to go with a report to Peru? Now is the time to take my letters." Then a soldier, who was a friend to the Adelantado, came to the Pilot, and said: "Things look very bad; I know not what will happen." Another said: "Though I wish to see you proceeding with the enterprise, I am very sorry to see you here, because of the menaces with which you will be received."

On going further into the camp, many soldiers came to him. Some were saying: "Where have you brought us to? What place is this whence no man goes, and to which no man will return? Even if notice was sent, people would only come to take gold, silver, pearls, or other things of value, and these are not here. The Adelantado is not to send notice, nor will all of us, or any of us, consent to it."

Others said: "We did not come to sow: for that purpose there is plenty of land in Peru; that is not the way to follow the service of God or of the King. We have

obligations to our own people, not to these savages. These are not the islands the Adelantado told us of, nor will we remain here. Embark us and take us to seek those other islands, or take us to Peru or some part where there are Christians." Resolute words of people without a master! Of these and other like things one and the other talked, in the direction whither their desires guided them, or rather drove them, without attending to whether the things they wanted were profitable or harmful. For mutineers have their wills so unrestrained that they have no bridle to check them, though the words spoken to them may be words of truth.

The Chief Pilot enquired for the reasons which made them think that the land was bad, to which they answered that it yielded next to nothing. On this he asked them what they had left in Peru, and what they had brought from there? and what they sought for to pass this life, unless it was money to buy a house and sustenance: a thing which few succeed in doing until late, most men passing their lives in hopes; that the present is good for working, without knowing what may come after, or what may be discovered. They said that when that time came twenty years would have passed away, and they would be old. The Pilot said to them that according to that, they ought to know how to find cities, vineyards, and gardens; to enter a house ready furnished, with the tables spread, and to make the owners give up their property and go into servitude; or they should know how to find mountains, valleys, and plains of emeralds, rubies, and diamonds, ready to be loaded and taken away. It should be remembered that all the provinces in the world had their beginnings; that Seville, Rome, and Venice, and the other cities of the world, were once forests or bare plains; and that it had cost the inhabitants what great things cost to create them, that their successors might enjoy the fruits of their labours,

as they do now enjoy them. "What I understand is that you want others to have worked that you may rest, without remembering that all have to work, though the first workers may have made the beginnings."

But they looked upon the Chief Pilot with suspicion, and they gave for a reason that it was he who was to go with the news, and he therefore favoured the settlement of this land that he might remain in the other. He asked them what riches they had seen him take that they thought this of him; that he it was who risked most, having to go for their good to discover routes over unknown seas; besides the labour he had to go through, to look out for a rock at night, and to complete calculations.

He further addressed them as follows:—"Gentlemen, who is it that deceives you and makes you discontented? What is the bad conception which makes you think that you can all leave this place with the ease that you promise yourselves? Tell me who they are, for I will explain to you the impossibilities there are in going from here to Peru, or any other part whatsoever." One of them answered: "Let that be how it may, for I would rather die at sea than where I am, and between the two we are in irons." The Pilot said to this man: "Know you not that we follow our General, who is in the place of the King, and that we are bound to desire what he desires for the King's service; and to want any other thing is to want to go contrary to the royal service." They all answered: "Here we are not going against the royal service." To this the Pilot replied: "What is it to go against the will of your General; to refuse to improve the land which he has settled in the royal name; and what is it to disobey, incite, and menace those who do not agree with you?" They answered: "We only desire that notice be not sent to Peru, and that, as we are a small body of men, we may be taken from here and taken to the islands of which we

are in search, or to some better place." The Pilot replied: "The Adelantado is the person whose duty it is to see that all goes well. It should be left to him, who now wishes a second time to search for the *Admiral* at the island of San Cristobal, which he was instructed to search for. If it should be found all will be well, and if not, a Christian view of things should be taken. The Adelantado's person and that of his wife were in the same place where they all were, and all would share the dangers together. If the *Almiranta* was found, all must approve. Moreover, it was not the Chief Pilot who had to go, but the Adelantado, who was well prepared." The Pilot added that their leader was ill, and that it was not reasonable to expect that his person should be exposed to new risks. But when he should wish to go, there should be none to contradict, being such honourable men whose faith could be trusted in this and more.

At this time others had come to give their opinions, but as the music was loud and so much out of tune, it did not sound well.

Continuing the discussion, the Chief Pilot, whose services in having navigated the fleet and discovered four islands whence they could take a new departure with a fair wind and short voyage, were nearly forgotten, now said: "You should all remember that if God had not given us the island on which we now are, we should all have perished; and as He gave it, we ought to be willing to remain here for a time. Now it may be seen that the same wind which brought us detains us here; the wind that was fair is now contrary, and a return to Peru is impossible without seeking a very high latitude. The ships have many defects, and we cannot careen them, we have no cables, and the rigging is rotten. As for provisions, we have nothing left but a little flour, and the jars for water are diminished in number, as many of them have been broken; while the

barrels are out of order, there being no one who can repair them. The route is long and unknown, and we do not know what would be the duration of such a voyage. These things are certain, and cannot be avoided, without the risk of your own lives and those of your comrades." He said further: "I desire that the wind would change, but we must go west, being the only course with a fair wind. We may be certain that we shall not be a longer time on the voyage than we were in coming here, where we can have as much, in the way of supplies, as we started with. Why should we have gone through so much labour, wasting our property and running such great risks, undertaking such an honourable enterprise, if we do not go through with it?

"Remember well that the King has had and still has other vassals, who have defended frontiers and maintained provinces against warlike people of great power, and sometimes eating dogs and cats rather than suffer dishonour; and all without expecting any reward such as may be hoped for here. At present neither will supplies be wanting in so fertile a soil, nor will an enemy cause serious danger; nor are there other drawbacks which we are obliged to forget, but which others will not forget. For we have an honourable opportunity which many others would like to have without ever having it offered to them, which we can perpetuate at the cost of much careful management. Why should we avoid such a chance? We should show resolution, for there is time for all things, and it is as well to reach the place we want in May as in September. In short, where is it desired that we should be, if we are say that we only come to seek our own welfare; and to procure that we want the spirit, for very soon, without more cause than our own cowardice, we be undone. We should be looked upon as the of God and the King, and of the honour of our

General and our own, if we abandon such an enterprise and such a land.

"Enemies to God, because we abandon so easily, and without sufficient cause, the work we came to do for the honour of God and the salvation of souls. It is the great interest on which we have to turn both our eyes, to rescue from the captivity of the Devil those whom he looks upon as so secure; to turn the worship of the natives from him, and turn it to God, to whom they owe it, and whose it is.

"Enemies of the King, for impeding his service, which may be promoted in this place, without making other discoveries, incurring fresh expenses, or risking other fleets. It may be that what was intended will be achieved, for when the new world was discovered it was not known at first how important it was, there being only a few small islands of little or no value; yet, through the constancy of the discoverers, there were afterwards found the great and rich provinces of New Spain and Peru; while the return to Spain, for a long time laborious and difficult, is now made easy through the mercy of God.

"Enemies to the honour of our General, because he has expended his resources on the enterprise, leaving what he has left in Peru. Do you wish, solely for your whim, to destroy such Christian aspirations, which have endured so long?

"Enemies of our own honour, because, from this position where we now are, there is no place to which we can go that will not be in the dominions of our King, and whose Ministers will exact a very strict account of whence we came, where we have left the General, and what reason we had for abandoning a land which had been settled in the name of the King: more especially such a land as this which is fertile, with friendly and numerous inhabitants. In one way or another we cannot escape from offending

our consciences, risking our lives, our honour, and our liberty. For all to go it is not possible, although we may wish it. To leave women and children, and helpless persons, would not be just. Would you go to New Spain? The Adelantado has already taken that route when he was in these parts before, but many died, and all went through terrible hardships during a long voyage; moreover, it is not always the season for such navigation. To go to the Philippines also has its difficulties." Thinking it all over, and doing his best to combat their inconsiderate desire, the Chief Pilot concluded by saying: "Why do you litigate without any grounds, saying that you will embark presently? I will show, with the Adelantado, that what you want to do this day is impossible."

Some of them, opening their eyes, appeared to be convinced by these arguments; but others were still obdurate. They preferred to trust to the ship rather than to what the land offered, and the water could be taken in 10,000 cocoa nuts, in joints of the canes, or even in the canoes of the natives, covering and caulking them; and they proposed other equally feasible contrivances. But the Chief Pilot said: "This is only a waste of time. Is it not for the Adelantado to decide what shall be done?" They said that "if the land will yield much food, how is it that we get nothing to eat from it?" "What certainty have you," said the Pilot, "that the provisions obtained here will not get bad." They answered that they were ready to risk that. As to water, they said that they would fall in with other islands on the route whence they could take in water; and that they would listen to reason, for they were reasonable beings.

Finally, they went back to their old song that they wanted to go to Manilla, which was a land of Christians. The Pilot said to them that Manilla was also a land of heathens, and that there being Christians was due to the

discoverers who settled there; and that in our expedition a similar duty was required of us. In Manilla there are only some soldiers stationed by the King to guard the estates of the settlers; and it is better to remain here where we might become such as they are in fame and honour, than go marching there with shouldered arquebus. To this one of them answered that honour was where the Pope and the King were, and not among Indians. The Pilot then said that it was better to ask for what they wanted from their General, who was not a man to close his ears to a just petition; and that they should consider that their position was very offensive to the General, who desired to do what the King had ordered. What word soever sounded ill there would also follow as many more and as free. To this, one of the soldiers said: "Leave off! leave off! and leave it for he who wants to stay, for we intend to go, dislike it who may." I was without a sword, and he with seven or eight others, went for theirs, and presently came back with heightened colour. Asking for the Camp Master, they all bowed their heads, with their swords in their hands, looking very fierce, not wanting much whispering, and secrets among some who spoke within hearing. They said publicly that they came to kill the Chief Pilot; and there was one who swore that they came saying: "Come, let us kill him, for he is the cause of our being in this land;" and others swore, and went so far with their menaces as to say: "What shall they drink in his skull." Things did not look well. God knows what they intended.

He who had declared that they would go, spoke and said: "There is no one who does not wish to go from this land; one who keeps most apart was he who showed most willingness, but it does not signify." He said most on that side, and was most resolved, both then and at other times; but as there were many people, there were as many argu-

ments, and with loud voices. The Chief Pilot concluded what he had to say by declaring that all he had put before them was in the service of God and the King, and that he would sustain it to the death, as he had proved.

CHAPTER XVI.

How the Camp Master came on board the ship; what passed with the Adelantado, and between the Camp Master and the soldiers on shore, where the Chief Pilot talked to the Camp Master.

THIS was the state of affairs when the Camp Master came on board the ship to speak with the Adelantado, who, had he been alone, would have strangled him and hung him on one of the masts. So Doña Isabel, his wife, urged him (according to her own account), saying to her husband: "Kill him or have him killed. What more do you want? He has fallen into your hands, and if not I will kill him with this knife." The Adelantado was prudent, and did not do so. He understood that the desire of the Camp Master was not to go so far in offences of his own as it was said that he intended. The Camp Master returned to the shore, and said to the soldiers: "Gentlemen! I come from speaking to the General respecting his affairs and this settlement; and he said that it had come to his knowledge that all of you were afflicted and troubled, saying that this is not a good land, and that you wanted to be taken to a better one. He says that you ask for a paper, and that he will answer, which is reasonable, as he is our General." Presently he said: "This is not mutiny, but it is when, without saying anything to their superiors, the soldiers suddenly break out, killing and crying, 'Down with the rascals!' Your worships have a right to ask, and to go and seek the *Almiranta*; for those on board were our comrades,

and it is not just to leave them without making any search.

"But if I were not the Master of the Camp, I would do and say more, for it is not understood that in my position I can give consent, when the Adelantado has said that his friends were those who have most declared themselves: a reason for giving all to understand that one enjoys his friendship.

"No soldier, whatever his condition may be, can to-day speak a word without its coming to the ear of my General; for I have to be subordinate, though I may be his best friend. My General has given to me his honour and the service of the King, and they are in that place I have to serve. Each one watches another. I am watched because I favour your party. I have not to lose my honour, nor is it ever to be supposed that such evil and unjust things can ever enter the thoughts of a person with my obligations, position, and experience. Nor is it reasonable to think that such honourable soldiers as are in this camp would wish to do by force what is suggested. Each one performs the duty assigned to him, for we only came here to obey and serve the King, and he who serves him not will be punished."

The soldiers began to talk among themselves, saying they need not be alarmed nor bear it in mind; and one of them said, referring to a search for the *Almiranta*, that he would offer to go in search in the name of the rest; that if he volunteered the thing would be safe, as he was more confident than the others, not being altogether ignorant of the art of navigation. Another said that the Adelantado is expert, and could not be deceived; and said that it should be the Camp Master. Another objected that he was not a sailor. He laughed, and said: "Gentlemen, I do not understand those affairs, and can easily be taken in." He added: "Some one has to go, and some one has

to be trusted in the business." This ended what was said in public. A witness swore that, the Chief Pilot being there talking, one soldier said to another: "Let us choose this traitor; we will kill him."

The Chief Pilot took the Camp Master aside, and asked him to listen for a moment; then looked round carefully, and in a short time discussed many things that have already been referred to. Respecting the navigation, the Pilot said that, when the time came, he would do the work well in accordance with instructions of the Adelantado.

The Camp Master said that now he did not value his life, and that he would say nothing unless he was asked to speak.

The Chief Pilot then took his leave, and went on board to report what had happened to the General, adding that, in his opinion, it would be well if the General would go on shore and speak to his people; that he thought it would be easy to reduce them to obedience by his presence, his will, and by putting before them the just reasons which actuated him.

On the following day the General went on shore. As he jumped out, a servant of his said, while he seized his arms: "There are going to be black puddings." Some soldiers coming towards the Adelantado said to one another: "Our General comes with the martingale. He also comes armed. What think you of the words his servant spoke to him?" That day the Adelantado had arranged with Don Lorenzo and three other soldiers that the Camp Master should be put to death. This was very different from what I had understood that he intended to do, but such things ought to be stated as, in my opinion, will explain the change. A certain person told me that a bad third person had said to the Adelantado that if he would have the Camp Master stabbed (he did not say that he should be

killed), but that if he should be killed—Let those of better understanding judge, for I do not hold it to be right to sit in judgment on the living and the dead.

CHAPTER XVII.

How the Chief Pilot went to seek for provisions, and how Malope came to make peace, and the friendship that was established.

ON the following day the Chief Pilot asked permission from the Adelantado to go in search of food. Having received it, he went in the boat, with twenty men, to a village where he only saw one man with a little boy. The rest had fled into the woods. On entering and searching the houses, nothing to eat was found. The Pilot followed a path which seemed to lead to the cultivated patches of the natives, and some pigs were seen, which ran into the woods. The Chief Pilot then heard the report of an arquebus, and presently another. On this he went back to the beach, where he had left the boat in charge of four arquebusiers. Arriving on the beach, he found Malope, who had come with two canoes, and said: "Friends; let us all come and eat." These words, and some others, we had learnt. He then told us by signs that we should embark, and come with him to a place where he had many pigs and other food. He sent the other canoe in advance. The Chief Pilot embarked, and told Malope to call the natives of that village. They came back, and arranged, on their return, to have food collected. Malope rowed his canoe, our boat followed, and, arriving at two other villages, a similar arrangement was made. We then entered the village of the warlike natives. They gave us a pig, and a few cocoa-nuts and plantains. As this seemed little, the Chief Pilot asked for more. But the natives took up arms,

and retired behind their houses and the trunks of trees with their bows and arrows, shouting and apparently calling to Malope. He seemed to be undecided, looking at one party and then at the other. The Chief Pilot, who always kept Malope by his side, drew his dagger and threatened Malope if he should attempt to go, or should not tell the natives not to shoot off their arrows. If they did, they would all be killed with the arquebuses. With an ignited cord he got ready to fire them off. Malope went to the village, and induced them to offer that, when the sun showed it to be three o'clock, they would come with what they could get ready. Malope called them, and they presently came, giving us many plantains and cocoa-nuts to eat. They also invited us to come and shoot natives on the other side of the bay, and to kill pigs. Having embarked, the boat followed the canoe, but the Chief Pilot marched along the shore with sixteen men and three native guides. Seeing some birds, the natives made signs that we should shoot them with the arquebus. The Chief Pilot would not consent, though some of the men urged it. His reason was that to shoot a ball at a small object would have a doubtful result; and he did not wish the natives to think that the result was uncertain; that they might not lose their fear of the arquebus.

Malope landed, the boat and canoe remaining side by side. All being on shore, they found the spring which has been mentioned. Malope sat down by it, and made signs that we should drink. From there we went to a village where the natives had ready for us a great heap of many plantains, sweet canes, cocoa-nuts, almonds, roots, biscuits, mats, and two pigs. Thus we went from village to village, and they gave fourteen pigs and of other things as much as we could take. The natives were always quiet, with the large canoes ready with their paddles, and themselves sitting under the shadow of them. There were some who

gave us plantains and roasted roots, open cocoa-nuts, and water taken from the wells, doing all with as much good will as if they had been well paid. Malope showed himself to be contented, and said that we might come further, and he would get more food for us. He took us to a higher part, and all the natives round heard and respected him as Lord or great friend.

The Chief Pilot, by signs, told him to make the natives carry that food, and at a word from him they had it all on their shoulders. It was worth seeing when more than a hundred natives went along the shore in a line. Having reached the boat, they put all they carried into it. Malope told the Chief Pilot to embrace the General for him, and took his leave. The Chief Pilot embarked, and went to the villages already mentioned, receiving from the natives what they came out in their canoes to give us.

The provisions that we brought were good, but to some it seemed too small a supply. They said to the Chief Pilot that he should let them go on shore; that they would take, burn, and kill; that the natives were dogs, and that they did not come from Peru to be satisfied with nothing. The Chief Pilot replied: "Does a boat laden with what has cost no money, and given with good will by our friend Malope, seem to you to be nothing?" They answered according to their knowledge, and the Chief Pilot proceeded as appeared to be necessary.

I have related this in such detail, because it is much to the purpose in this narrative, as will be seen further on. Having arrived at the ship, Doña Isabel told the Chief Pilot that the other day the soldiers went from the camp to kill Malope. The Adelantado sent to tell them of the friendship Malope had shown, and desiring that notice should be given in the camp not to do him any harm, as he had done so much good to us. The Adelantado appreciated what this native had done, praising his good conduct.

He rose from his bed to see what had been brought on board, which was very fairly distributed, and he said to the Chief Pilot that he only wanted the same share as a companion.

CHAPTER XVIII.

How the Adelantado went on shore with the Chief Pilot, and ordered a squadron of soldiers who were going in search of food not to kill Malope. It relates the death of the Camp Master, and other cruelties.

WHEN the night came, the Adelantado sent for the Chief Pilot, and made him sit by his bedside, where he was lying ill. With very great caution, he told him that he intended to go on shore the next morning with four men in whom he had most confidence, all armed, and that he would be accompanied by the royal standard, and would proclaim the will of the King at the proper time; for that he had to go and to do justice on the Camp Master, for reasons which moved him so to act.

That night the Chief Pilot caused the usual careful watch to be kept, and at dawn they asked for the boat from the camp, with loud voices. On hearing them, Doña Isabel came from her bed, saying: "Alas! alas! they have killed my brothers, and they ask for the boat to come and kill us." The Adelantado would not listen, and as soon as it was day a squadron of thirty soldiers came out of the camp. The Adelantado ordered them to be told not to go on before he had spoken to them. Embarking with his people, he asked who was their leader, who had sent them, and where they were going. The Lieutenant answered that he was the leader, and that they were ordered by the Camp Master to go to the village of Malope and seek for food. The Adelantado warned them not to kill Malope, nor to do him any harm, nor take any of his property, as he was

our friend, and that they should take him with them. He knew quite well that they came for food, and, turning to the Chief Pilot, the Adelantado told him to relate to the soldiers all that had passed with Malope the day before. They heard it laughing.

The Adelantado had with him the Captain of the galeot, who carried a great wood-knife.[1] On the shore the Captain, Don Lorenzo, his brothers, and a few sailors, were waiting. Having landed, the Adelantado joined those who were on the shore, and went to the fort which the Camp Master was constructing in great haste. Before arriving, there were not wanting those who asked what was it they were wanted to do there, and one was cleaning his arquebus. The General arrived at the camp when the Camp Master was having his breakfast. He came out just as he was, without coat or hat, to receive the General, and when he found himself among so many who were not his friends, he called for staff, dagger and sword.

Those who had to do the deed were arriving. The Adelantado raised his eyes to heaven, and, giving a sigh, put his hand to his sword, saying: "Long live the King! Death to traitors!" Upon this, without any delay, one Juan Antonio de la Roca took the Camp Master by the collar, and gave him two stabs, one in the mouth and the other on the breast. Then a Sergeant, with a Bohemian knife, gave him another in the side. The Camp Master cried: "Oh, gentlemen!" He turned to get his sword, but the Captain, with his wood-knife, nearly cut off his right arm. He fell, saying: "Oh, leave me time to confess." One answered that "there was no time. You can well feel contrition." The wretched man was palpitating, stretched on the ground, and crying, "Jesus Maria!" A good woman came up, and helped him to die in peace.

[1] Felipe Corzo. He was an enemy of Quiros.

One with a kind heart did no more than draw out the sword, and the woman gave it up. So the body was left, and the Adelantado approved the slaughter.

This being done, it was presently ordered to be proclaimed that the Camp Master was dead, and that all the rest were pardoned in the name of his Majesty. The Camp Master having expired, the drummer, coveting his clothes, left him naked.

The Camp Master was very zealous, a hard worker and good soldier, and in all enterprises he was the first. He appeared to be about sixty years of age, for his hair was quite white, and, though old, he was vigorous, but very impetuous. He knew how to think much, but he could not be silent, and I believe that for no other thing he was killed.

At this time Don Luis and the Chief Pilot were talking near the tent of two friends of the Camp Master, and Don Luis seized one of them and stabbed him. The soldier cried out: "For me? For me? What have I done?" Don Luis left the dagger, and drew his sword; but the Chief Pilot defended the man, saying: "What is this, that without more ado men are to be killed thus?" A soldier came out of another tent with his sword drawn, and said: "What is this? Like the Camp Master?" Don Luis attacked him, and many others coming up, the soldier retreated inside, saying: "What have I done? What have I done?" Then the Captain, Don Lorenzo, came, and they killed the soldier by some houses where he had fallen. The drummer stripped them, and soldiers were stationed to guard the goods of both.

Don Lorenzo and his brother came with a party of soldiers, but they found the Chief Pilot at the door, who opposed their advance, saying he would report them. Don Lorenzo told him to leave the door, crying "Death to these traitors!" The Chief Pilot said that they were friends.

"Kill them! kill them!" they replied, "they deserve it more than the others." The Chief Pilot urged that they should mind what they were doing. Don Lorenzo answered that only St. Peter, if he was there, could induce them to spare the lives of such people. At the cries and noise of arms, the women came out, alarmed and agitated. Some prayed for their husbands; others wrung their hands and lamented. The men were like lunatics, going about with their eyes seeking those they would kill, shouting, with drawn swords: "Long live the King! Death to traitors!" It seemed that this was a day for avenging injuries; but to me it seemed a day of licence to lads who might go any length.

After the disturbances the Sergeant-Major came out of his tent, and that he might be able to say that he had also fleshed his sword, he gave a page of the Camp Master a cut on the head, and another to one of his servants. He also tried to wound a black man who had served the Camp Master, but he saved himself by his feet. The two who were wounded went to seek protection from the General, who ordered the Sergeant-Major to leave the boys alone.

One came out who was suspected; another, who cried for the King, would have killed him if the Chief Pilot had not protected him. The cry was that traitors came out with their arms; this one should have a rope; dead and alive all need to have honour. They came out, they said, to accompany the royal standard which Don Diego Barreto hoisted, and cried out for the King, to which all answered, "Death to traitors!"

The Captain of the wood-knife took the two heads which the General had ordered to be put into nets, and each one was set on a pole near the *corps de garde*.[1] At this time

[1] Outpost guard, whence sentries were selected. A picket. Usually consisting of twenty or thirty men.

the boat came from the ship in a great hurry, with the Vicar holding a lance in his hand, and the sailors under arms, crying out, "Long live the King! Death to traitors!" Coming to where they found the Adelantado, they said: "We have all come to serve his Majesty and to die with your Lordship," and they rallied round the royal standard. One of them asked the General whether it was done, and when he replied in the affirmative, the man said it was well done. On seeing the two heads he exclaimed: "A wall has henceforward fallen from before me."

At this time Doña Isabel and her sister came from the ship, for the Captain with the wood-knife had been on board to announce the victory to them, and to boast of having given a good stab to the Camp Master, and of having cut off the two heads. He said: "Now you are mistress and marchioness, and I am Captain, for the Camp Master is dead. I say that it is terrible to fear wicked men with licence." When Doña Isabel landed, she went to the *corps de garde*.

At this juncture a soldier came out of the camp, with plumes in his hat, dissimulating, and asking carelessly what was the matter, pretending that he did not know. This was the man who raised all the questions, and to whom all turned their eyes. He was allowed to be free, because the persons were few with whom he had treated. Many were frightened, and they had themselves given the occasion for the insecurity. Some commended themselves to their friends who had really been true, and they freed them. The Adelantado ordered that all should go to the church to hear Mass, which the Vicar said. When he had finished he turned his face to the people, and told them not to be scandalised at the deaths, for it was ordained. He recommended them to be quiet and obedient to the General, reminding them that by that way there was safety. They returned from the Mass in the same way they had come,

with the standard, to the *corps de garde.* The baggage of the dead men was opened, and their enemies made a division of it. The Adelantado ordered the bodies to be buried, with which this first tragedy ended. All were dismissed to assemble again in the afternoon, with the consequence that will be described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XIX.

How the soldiers killed Malope; of the arrests that were made in consequence of the murder, with the deaths of an Ensign and of a murderer of Malope.

IN the afternoon all assembled at the *corps de garde,* and the Adelantado ordered the heads to be taken down and the standard to be concealed; when one arrived who had gone with the soldiers in the morning, and reported to the Adelantado. He said that when the soldiers came to the house of Malope, he had regaled them and given them what he had. The innocent man felt secure, when a soldier raised his arquebus, pointed it at him, and fired. He fell to the ground palpitating, when a certain person, to put him out of his pain, came to him with a hatchet and cleft his skull, saying we had never done a better thing. In this way they most unjustly killed Malope, returning so much evil for so much good. It was the work rather of a devil than of a man. He had kept the country at peace, and had given us food. He was the means of inducing others to give, and his kindness had been very great. They excused themselves by saying that Malope had intended to commit treason. This seems to have been an invention to give colour to the outrage they had committed. They gave up the murderer, and he said, ordering his arms: "He is well dead. Is there any one who wants to seek my death?" The Adelantado felt it much, and so

did every one, not only the deed itself, but the trouble it would lead to. The murderer was brought in a canoe, with his hands tied behind him, and the Adelantado ordered both feet to be put in the stocks.

Most of the soldiers came marching along the shore. The Adelantado ordered those who were with him to conceal themselves in the *corps de garde*, and as they entered, coming four and four, to seize them. The Lieutenant of the Sergeant-Major entered, and four with him, who were seized and put in irons. They looked about in all directions, and, seeing the page of the Camp Master, they asked him with their eyes about his master. The boy took hold of his throat with one hand, meaning that his master was dead. The prisoners showed their sorrow. A nephew of the Camp Master then came in, whom the General honoured much, saying he knew what a good servant of the King he was; and the same with Don Toribio de Bedeterra.

Presently the Ensign came with the rest of the soldiers, and Don Lorenzo disarmed him, and delivered him to four arquebusiers with irons, to be taken to a *corps de garde* at some distance. The wife of the prisoner went crying among the houses and branches, well aware of the danger of her husband, for she was weeping before he came.

Don Lorenzo went to call the Chaplain, and the good father, as one seeing a turbulent river, did not dare to pass it. He said: "Sir Captain, what is it that you want with me? Remember that I am a priest. Oh, for the sake of the one God, do not kill me!" "Come with me," said Don Lorenzo, "just for a little." "Here! here!" said the priest; "I cannot go any further." It was explained to him that it was to confess the Ensign, and he was reassured. He presently was taken behind a tree, where the prisoner was. He began to persuade him to confess, as they were going to kill him. The prisoner said: "I to die? where-

fore?" The priest undeceived him. Those who were present relate that the Ensign then said: "Let it be then as God wills;" and he knelt down at the feet of the confessor, whose duty it was and who performed his office. A black servant of the General had orders, and, with a knife, gave him a blow and then another, by which his head was cut off, and put with the other two. The body was covered with some branches, and soon afterwards thrown into the sea, at which his wife wept bitterly.

The Ensign being finished with, the Captain, Don Lorenzo, in the hearing of the General, asked who should be taken out of the stocks next. He ordered that it should be the Lieutenant of the Sergeant-Major, but all entreated the Adelantado to spare his life, which he did, taking him in his hands and receiving the oath. He then retired, that he might not be asked by the next one who was ordered to be taken out of the stocks, for the Sergeant-Major had him by one arm, the Chief Pilot taking the other; but the prisoner, shaking them off, exclaimed: "Here I am. If I deserve it, cut off my head." Doña Isabel and all the others entreated the Adelantado to spare his life. He made him take the same oath as the other, and pardoned him. Rising up, the prisoner cast his eyes on the head of the Camp Master. With his hands over his face and weeping, he said, in a voice so that we could all hear: "Ah, thou honoured old man! and have you come to this at the end of so many years of service to the King? This is the reward they have given you! a vile death, and your head and grey hairs stuck on a pole." There was a soldier by his side, who said: "I cannot but mourn for the sad fate of the Camp Master, whom we looked upon as a father." The Adelantado heard them, and ordered them to be silent. They said that he should give thanks for having been delivered from the dangers in which he was, and that he should be grateful to his sponsors for the good

intercession they made. He gave thanks to all, and embraced his companion with many tears.

While this was passing, the murderer of Malope called to the Chief Pilot, and told him of his condition. In the name of God, he entreated the Pilot to be a good intercessor for him in his need, and for a second time he asked him to pray to the Adelantado to pardon his crime. He might be sure how well he would serve hereafter, and he wanted to marry Pancha, the Adelantado's servant (this was a native girl of Peru, of bad character, *carachanta*,[1] and the rest), whom the Adelantado had in his service. The Chief Pilot reassured him, saying that he might be certain that, without doing what he had pointed out, he would be a good mediator, as he would presently see. The Adelantado came to take him out of the stocks with his own hands, that he might be judged. The Chief Pilot prayed that his life might be spared, but the Adelantado said, almost in a rage: "How am I to pay for the death of my friend Malope but with the death of this man?" The Chief Pilot replied that he might show the heads of the two who were executed to the natives, and make them think that they were punished for the death of Malope; adding, that he must remember we are few, and that the position of affairs made pardon advisable. The Adelantado answered that he would consider that, and would keep him a prisoner. The Chief Pilot gave thanks for the mercy, and the prisoner was taken out of the stocks and sent on board the ship in charge of four men.

This man did not care to eat, and drank salt water, turning his head to the wall with shame because some said to him: "Why did you kill that good native without cause?" Others told him he deserved to be quartered for

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[1] *Caracha* is a cutaneous disease in Peruvian parlance; *caaranta*, a person who has no eyebrows, also a Peruvianism.

having committed such a crime. At last it seemed to him that it would be better to die than to live. He left off caring for himself, and died very suddenly after a few days, having first received the holy sacrament, a privilege not enjoyed by the others. With this ended the tragedy of the islands where Solomon was wanting.

CHAPTER XX.

Of the great mourning for Malope among the natives. The great sickness that prevailed in the camp; with the deaths of the Adelantado and the Chaplain, and the victories gained by the natives.

NEXT morning, great cries of sorrow were heard in the village and house of Malope, raised by a large assembly of people. The Adelantado ordered that a party should presently go with the head of the Ensign, and give it to the natives, telling them that, as the best thing that could be done, this other life had been taken for the death of Malope. But when the natives saw the boat coming to their village, leaving their mournings, they all fled into the woods. Those in the boat called to them to come back, holding up the head; but it was no use, they all hid themselves. Seeing this, the head was left at the door of the house, and the boat returned. At the petition of the Vicar, the Adelantado ordered the other two heads to be taken down from the poles, that they might be buried. The burial was neglected; and, as they were left that night on the beach, they were found next morning with all the flesh and skin gone, for the dogs had eaten them.

All this time the Adelantado became each day more unwell. He ordered a house to be built for him in great haste, in which, having landed with his family, he established himself.

Now the punishment came down from Heaven which we deserved for our treacheries, disorders, and cruelties, in the shape of sickness without the means of curing it.

The Captain, Don Lorenzo, in whose charge all things were now placed by land and sea, early one morning sent twenty soldiers and an officer in the boat to seize some boys, with the object of teaching them our language, as we could not understand theirs. The natives, who carefully concealed themselves, defended the landing with such vigour that before our men could get back the officer and seven men were wounded with arrows. Enjoying the occasion, they followed up the repulse with many shots of arrows and stones, and with great shouts. They came so near the camp that Don Lorenzo had to issue forth with the banner displayed, and all the rest of the men who were not sick, to defend the gate. As the natives retired, they fired a volley of arrows which went home, wounding six men and Don Lorenzo himself, who were brought in and attended to. Upon this, Don Lorenzo sent a soldier in charge of a party, to burn canoes and houses, and to do as much damage as possible, the result being eight wounded soldiers. With these three victories, all gained on the same day, the natives became so audacious that they shot arrows into the camp at night, and threw stones with such effect that they wounded two men, one of them dying. Owing to the sickness of the Adelantado, and the number of wounded soldiers, we could only defend and secure the camp, the attempts of our soldiers being confined to getting "*bledos*," which sometimes cost them dear.

On the Vigil of St. Luke the Evangelist, the first of our companions died, the Chaplain, Antonio de Serpa, for whose decease the Vicar mourned deeply, and raised sad lamentation, turning up his eyes to heaven, and saying: "Oh, my God! how great is the punishment that You send for my sins. You leave me, O Lord, without a priest to

whom to confess. O, Father Antonio de Serpa! Happy are you to have died after having received the sacrament. Who would not change places with you, and not remain in mine, in which I am so abandoned, for I can confess all who are here, but have no one to confess me." He went about with his face hidden, and would not be consoled He went to the church, and wept at the altar. The good Vicar said that, in mourning for the dead, he opened the tomb where he was buried.

On the following night, which was the 17th of October, there was a total eclipse of the moon; when it rose in the east it was completely eclipsed. The Adelantado was so weak that he gave orders about his will, which he could scarcely sign. He left Doña Isabel Barreto, his wife, as general heir, and nominated her as Governess, for his Majesty had issued a special decree giving him power to name any person he chose for his successor. He nominated his brother-in-law, Don Lorenzo, to be Captain-General; and, ordering the Vicar to be called, he complied with all the obligations required for his soul.

In this way the night passed, and the day arrived, which was that of St. Luke. Seeing the end so near, the Vicar said that a person of good life knew how much it imported to die well, so that there might be time to make his peace with God. He said other things alike holy and pious, which the Adelantado heard, showing not only attention but great contrition, and making it to be well understood how submissive he was to the will of God who created him. The Vicar had a crucifix brought, in whose presence the Adelantado seemed to bend the knees in his heart. Helping to say the *Miserere mei* and the Creed, at one o'clock after noon our Adelantado passed from this life, with which there ended his enterprise, so much and for so long a time desired. He was a person zealous for the honour of God and the service of the King, to whom the things ill done

did not appear good, nor did those well done appear evil. He was very plain-spoken, not diffuse in giving his reasons, and he himself said that he did not want arguments but deeds. It seemed that he saw clearly those matters which touched his conscience. It seemed to me that he might say with reason that he knew more than he performed, yet he saw nothing that passed by stealth. The Governess felt his death, as did others, though some rejoiced at it.

In the afternoon, with as much pomp as the circumstances would admit, we prepared for his sepulture. The body was placed in a coffin covered with black cloth, and carried on the shoulders of eight persons of the highest rank. The soldiers stood with their arquebuses reversed, in accordance with usage at the funerals of Generals. The procession went with two banners displayed, and from two drums covered with mourning cloth came slow and muffled sounds, while the fife expressed the like sentiments. Arrived at the church, the Vicar performed the service, and we then returned to the Governess to condole with her on her misfortune.

CHAPTER XXI.

How the Vicar delivered some admonitions to the soldiers, and the examples he gave.

AFTER the two deaths already described, the Vicar reflected how serious the sickness was, and that one, two, or three died every day, and began to perambulate the camp, crying with a loud voice: "Is there one who wants to confess? Put yourselves well with God, and attend to the welfare of your souls, for a punishment has come upon us, from which none can escape, how numerous soever we may be. The natives will triumph over us, and will remain,

enjoying our clothes and arms and all we possess in this place, where God holds us prisoners, to chastise us according to our deserts. Think that if God punishes a whole kingdom for one sin, how will He punish here where they are so many. There are men here who have not confessed for three, five, seven, nine, fourteen and thirty years, and one who has only confessed once in his life. There are men here who have caused the deaths of two and three other men; there is a man who does not know whether he is a Moor or a Christian; others have committed sins so foul and so serious that, being such, I will not name them. Remember how God conferred with David, and told him out of three punishments to choose one. We have among us sickness, war, famine and discord, and we are far from any remedy. Reflect that we have God incensed against us, and that the naked and bloody sword of His justice, with which He goes forth to kill, is ready to put an end to us. Fully justified is His judgment. The punishment is not so great nor so rigorous as we deserve. Confess yourselves! clean your souls, and with the repentance, appease the anger of God, Who wishes not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live. Open your eyes, and see what a terrible chastisement is this."

The good priest went about day after day performing his office, giving the sacrament to the sick, burying the dead, and seeking the means of inducing those who did not wish to confess to yield. At other times, with the same anxious spirit, he said that the mercy of Christ was much greater than our sins, how ugly and heinous soever they might be; and that one single drop of the blood which was shed in the Passion was sufficient for the sins of infinite worlds. None of those who were there, be their sins what they may, should lose hope; rather, with the faith and constancy of Christians, they should put their trust in God,

Who knows how to pardon sinners. In order further to console and encourage them all by examples, he told the two following anecdotes:—

In a town in Peru there was a Franciscan friar in his convent, of pure life, at whose feet a soldier, who was his neighbour and known to him, knelt down to confess; and as he knelt, he put his eyes on a crucifix, and said in his heart: "O Lord, have mercy on this soul!" On the instant, the image came down from the cross, came half the distance, and said: "Doubt not! confess and be absolved. It was for thee, and other sinners like thee, that I came to the world."

The other story was that, in the Indies, there was a man rich in goods, but poor in virtue, who sinned, and had old and well-grown roots in many vices. He was a man who sometimes came to the camp with dagger and lance, closed teeth, and eyes raised to heaven, saying: "O God! come down here, to this place, and come with me to see who is the bravest;" and he said other things, showing as little fear or reverence for God as this. This man, being out one night, and passing a room of his, praying with some beads, heard a voice which said: "Oh! such an one, wherefore do you not recite with devotion on that rosary?" Astonished and full of fear, he struck a light, and looked into the room, but saw no one. Continuing to search, he found an image of Our Lady, painted on paper. Raising it from the ground, he put it on the wall, and, kneeling down, he held it with one hand, while he recited on his rosary. While thus employed, two negroes came to him, put out the light, stripped him naked, and flogged him until he was nearly dead. At this juncture he saw the room brilliantly lighted, and a voice said: "Go! go! and leave this soul which is not thine, for My Son has granted it to Me through His mercy and My prayers." In a moment, the negroes left him, and the light disappeared. The patient went away as

well as he could, and laid down on his bed. He sent for a friar, who asked what had happened that he should send for him in the middle of the night. He related what had happened, showed him the wounds and bruises, and begged urgently to be confessed, saying that it was thirty-eight years since he had confessed. The confessor heard and consoled him, saying that much worse sins were pardoned by God with a free hand. His confession lasted for seventeen days, and he was absolved with a small penance. A fever came upon him, and wasted him so, that on the day when he finished his confession he died like a saint.

With these stories, and in many other ways, as Christian as these, the Vicar secured the salvation of the souls which could be brought into the right way; and the better to fulfil the duties of his office, he came on shore to live in the house of one of the men who had died.

CHAPTER XXII.

In which is related what more passed with the natives.

KNOWING the time, the natives came in pursuit of their vengeance, and sought out our people every day, carrying shields, thinking to defend themselves against the arquebus, as the shields protected us from their arrows. They were very careful to take warning, and so, with this animosity, they shot arrows from among the trees and branches, aiming at the face and legs, which were, they saw, unprotected. It was the soldiers' fault, because they took up the arrows and drove their points against the shields and other protected parts, to show the natives that they did no harm. But it only showed the natives that they must aim at the eyes or legs; so they understood the secret, and always shot at those two places. The General, Don Lorenzo,

seeing that they came to seek us in camp, ordered a soldier, with twelve others under him, to go to the village of Malope and do harm there, assuming that it was his people who made the attacks. They burnt the village and returned, the inhabitants having fled into the woods.

While this was going on, the natives nearest to the camp were shouting and saying: "See what they are doing to the village of Malope, and the disposition that these people are showing." We called to them from the camp with a flag of peace (they also use the same). After a time some of them came, and the General came out to speak with them, taking the Chief Pilot with him, and six arquebusiers in attendance to be ready for anything that might occur. But the natives, when they saw the arquebusiers, began to go back, at the same time making signs that they were not to come. The General ordered them to stop, and using endearing terms, he said that we were friends, asking why they did not bring in food as they used to do. They complained, saying by signs that if we were friends, why did we kill them, there being peace? They said "Malope! Malope! why friends *pu*" (the name they gave to an arquebus); meaning that if we were friends of Malope, why had we killed him with an arquebus, and were now burning his village, pointing with a finger. The General replied that those who had done the harm were now dead, and a head had been sent to the village as a punishment for what had been done. They asked for the *Jauriqui*,[1] their name for the Adelantado, and were told that he was in the camp. Don Lorenzo asked them to bring food; and they did so, coming on the following and subsequent days. These natives appeared to me to be well ordered and easy to be brought into habits of peace; and they kept faith entirely. In my opinion we waged war upon them, while they gave their property to

[1] *Tauriqui* of Mendaña's first voyage.

us. All the time that peace was broken with them, we were in great need for want of their helps, and the soldiers could not go out to seek for food. This want was supplied by the flour that had been brought from Peru, which was the life of the expedition.

CHAPTER XXIII.

In which it is related what happened until the death of the General, Don Lorenzo Barreto.

DON LORENZO, with his infirmity, did what he could for the sustenance and welfare of the camp, and for a third time sent the frigate, with the Captain of artillery, to search for the *Almiranta*, giving him instructions as to the course he was to pursue. The Captain went, and worked diligently, but did not find her. He shaped a course to one of the three islets already mentioned, surrounded by reefs. Here he captured eight youths, four grown up, and all of tawny colour, well made, with fine eyes, and good presence. He also collected some pearl shells, which he found in a village, and with them he returned to the ship.

The General sent Don Diego de Vera, as leader, with some soldiers who were most healthy, to seek for natives, to be held as hostages, so as to induce the rest not to try to do us harm. They brought in three women and six children, and their husbands often came to see them, with many others. They came to pray for their liberation, with many caresses, and to content them we gave them up.

There was a movement to seek permission from the Governess to leave that land; and those who worked it ordered the soldiers to sign a document which the Vicar gave them, so that it should be submitted in the name of all. One answered that they should not be ordered to

sign, for that the Adelantado had killed the Camp Master and two soldiers for signing a paper. He was assured that if he signed there would now be no penalty, as the time was different.

The Vicar drew up a petition in which he gave the reasons, which he said were sufficient, for abandoning the settlement. The Governess and the General ordered that information should be taken, of which, when the magistrate asked for a copy (as he said) they ordered him to pass on: as all the people on shore had signed the paper, they took all the seamen as witnesses. As the Chief Pilot had shown how much the desire to form a settlement would cost, I say that one day a friend of his came to him on board, and, I know not whether it was out of charity or envy, told him to hold his tongue, for if not he would be killed or left alone on that island. His persistence reached such a point that he offered to sow, and maintain the seamen; but the suspicion and hatred they conceived of such a proceeding was such that they never wished to let him go on the excursions they made by sea. Thus they attacked the intention of coming there, after leaving the chances of being able to do much in Peru, to employ themselves on discoveries of such importance.

This seems to me to free the land from much that our sailors say about it, that it was the worst that was known: giving as a reason the numerous deaths and the sickness.

It is quite clear that to change of temperature, diet, and customs, to work and go about in the sun, to get wet without changing, to settle in woods in winter, to sleep on the ground with damp and other things inimical to health, with men who are not made of stone, will bring on sickness; while the want of medical men who understand what is wrong, and of remedies that should be applied, nor the presence of any one to give them, are the open doors of death. Besides, there are positions more healthy than

others in populous cities and towns; so that I understand that only a small part is exposed to the above evils. Even here those who remained on the sea never fell ill. If the land was as unhealthy as was represented, the sick, with so much against them, would not have survived so long. Many lived for weeks and months, and none died suddenly, as happens at Nombre de Dios, Puerto Bello, Panama, Cabo Verde, San Tomé, and other unhealthy places, where, with all needful remedies, the sick succumb in a short time, even in a few hours.

The sick continued to die, and it was a sad thing to see them in the clutches of disease, stretched out, some delirious, others nearly so; some wanting to go on board, hoping to find health there, others wanting to go from the ship to the camp, hoping to find it on shore. The General supplied their wants so far as was possible, and the Governess did what she could, other persons helping out of charity; but all that could be done was little, seeing that the needs were great. At this time the Vicar fell ill, and as the land did not seem a good place to him, he returned to the ship.

The General who, as has already been mentioned, was wounded in the leg, found it necessary to take to his bed, where he got worse every minute. The camp was now in such a condition that it did not contain fifteen healthy soldiers, and these were all lads who could endure fevers better, though in fifteen days the fever does not run its course. The Chief Pilot went to visit Don Lorenzo, to inquire after his health, but he replied in much affliction: "Ah! Chief Pilot! I shall die without confession;" and presently he said: "Ah, death! in what a condition you take me." With his eyes fixed on the crucifix, he exclaimed: "I am a sinner. O, Lord! pardon me."

The Chief Pilot, knowing his great need, consoled him by saying that he would go and ask the Vicar to come as

he was. He went on board and entreated the Vicar, for the love of God, to come and confess Don Lorenzo, because he was dying fast. The Vicar replied that he was dying too; that if he would bring Don Lorenzo on board he would confess him. The Chief Pilot answered that Don Lorenzo was passing away; that even to turn him in his bed it was necessary to have a line hung from the roof, and that only with this, and the help of two men, could he be turned. He was young, and the Vicar knew that he ought not to allow him, nor any other person who sought confession, to die without it. "Your worship wishes to kill me," replied the Vicar; "can you not see that I am unable to stand on my feet? So little do you care for my health. Let them carry me where they please, though I may die." So he was put in the boat, trembling and wrapped in a blanket. He was carried to the side of Don Lorenzo in his bed, whom he confessed, as well as all others who wished to confess. A soldier, seeing how ill the Vicar was, said very sorrowfully: "Ah, Sir! what is this that I see? What have we come to?" They returned to the ship. That night Don Lorenzo was much worse, and at break of day, the 2nd of November, he died. May God pardon him! He was mourned for, and buried in the same way as his brother-in-law, the Adelantado. Among the rest a soldier died, who received death with such a cheerful countenance that in the words he spoke, and what he did, he seemed to be a pilgrim on the road to heaven.

CHAPTER XXIV.

In which the unhappy condition of our people is related, the death of the Vicar, and the embarkation of all hands.

OUR condition, as above related, had reached such a point that, if only ten determined natives had come, they could have killed us all, and destroyed the settlement. At last the sick, pressed by the evils they suffered, which were great, went on board the ship, and the Governess with them, leaving the flag on shore with the few soldiers who still retained some health, to provide wood and water. On Monday, the 7th of November, the flag and the rest of the people were embarked, and so an end was given to this promising enterprise. I never expected anything else, and it must be left in the claws of him who held it before,[1] until God permits others to come forward who are more desirous of the welfare of those lost ones, that with a finger they may show the way to that salvation for which they were created.

The settlement remained a spectacle for sentiment and reflection on the disastrous and brief course of events which took place in it. It was a noteworthy thing to see the dogs running along the beach and barking, as if they were asking why the people went away and left them behind. The smallest dog rushed into the sea, and came swimming to the ship, and for such fidelity was taken on board; and of him it may be said that fortune favours the brave.

The Vicar made his will, and three soldiers kept watch with him during the following night. He asked one of them to read to him the "Symbol of the Faith," by Fray Luis de Granada. When day came, the Chief Pilot, seeing the little hope there was for his life, and that he appeared

[1] Namely, the Devil.

to be dying, said to him that the time was short, and that he should look to what concerned his soul. He answered that it was well, and that he did not grieve for anything. The Chief Pilot said that his was the office of a friend, to tell him that he must not deceive himself, for that he was near his end. "Why did you not tell me so sooner," said the Vicar, and the Chief Pilot answered that he never thought that the illness would bring him to his present condition. The Vicar asked for a crucifix, and with it in his hands he said: "Oh eternal Father who sent me; that which I should do I understand not, and presently power of speech will be gone." Thus his death-agony came, and he gave his soul to the Saviour and Creator.

This loss was what we deserved for our sins. Punishment and castigation came that we might not deceive ourselves, but know that God was enraged against us, for after so many bodily afflictions He now took from us our spiritual gift. His death was much felt, though not by all, for all do not know how to feel such losses. The Vicar, Juan Rodriguez de Espinosa, was a very honourable priest, for whom, by reason of his virtue and good parts, much love was due.

The Chief Pilot caused him to be buried in the sea; not being willing that it should be on shore, lest the natives should disinter and insult his remains.

CHAPTER XXV.

How we made two more incursions, which were the last, and what passed until we made sail.

NEXT day the wind was from the north, and, although moderate, three cables parted, by which the ship was secured, leaving only one slight cable which appeared to be too weak to hold a ship. Yet it was so strong that

it saved the ship from going on shore, which was very near.

Later, Luis Andrada was sent in charge of thirty men to seek for provisions for the voyage. He went to the small island which we called the garden, "Huerta," and found five large canoes in a bay, laden with the biscuit of that country, which the natives had there concealed, and without any difficulty he collected them all and sent them to the ship. He said that he killed one hundred and twenty pigs, of which he brought some. He found the natives peaceful at first; but afterwards they were hostile, because the ill-disposed soldiers illtreated them. They made holes in the narrow paths, covered with branches and earth, and in them they planted upright stakes, on which a soldier hurt his foot. With what was obtained by this incursion, order was taken for the sick, and the ship was supplied with the whole.

The leader came back, and soon afterwards the Chief Pilot went, with twenty men, to the same island, following many canoes of the natives. Leaving six men in the boat, he jumped on shore with the rest, and the natives, threatening war, received them with arrows in their hands, making the *perneta*, shouting and dancing round. The Pilot held up a white flag as a sign of peace, but they danced and shouted all the more. It was a narrow path, with trees on each side, and they began to send arrows and stones from all directions. Two arquebus shots were fired, and the village was entered; but nothing more was found but biscuits in the houses, and roots tasting like oranges, and of the same colour. The natives were followed to a hill, and, reaching the top, we found ourselves on a fine plain, with great abundance of fruit cultivation. The soldiers cut many large bunches of plantains, got a quantity of cocoa nuts, and found a great supply of biscuit in a house. Laden with these provisions, and keeping close to each

other, they all got into the boat without any further mishap; and though there was an encounter with the natives, none were either killed or wounded. For the Chief Pilot gave orders to the soldiers not to fire to hit but to frighten.

Having done this, he ordered the boat to follow along the shore to a place where he went to cut small palms. But when he arrived, the boat was not to be seen, however much they tried to find her. All agreed that the best plan would be to go back to the place where they first landed. They marched until sunset, when they came to a place where some rocks made a good shelter. For this reason, and having found a canoe there, the Chief Pilot decided on passing the night, and sending a man in the canoe to report their position to the ship, that those on board might send to look for them. The Chief Pilot said that he was anxious about the boat, and much more when he considered the insecure position in which the best sailors were placed, without whom the rest could not take the ship to any place where they would be saved; and thus there would be no notice of the discovery that had been made, nor of the rest that was surmised.

He asked what powder the soldiers had. They replied that they had ten rounds. He said that was little, and that it would be better to go on and look for some of the canoes. When taken, if the natives required them, after all the powder was expended, they would defend themselves with swords and shields. If anything had happened to the boat, the natives would have seen, and would have hidden their canoes so that we might not get away. This was agreed to. A soldier was given command of the vanguard, and he, with some others, marched along the beach where the trees grew very thick, no one having touched them since their creation, with some great rocks. It was almost impossible to make a way through this in the day-time; how much less on a dark night. Sometimes the water was

up to their knees, and at others to their middles. They went climbing and descending from trunks and rocks, making their way either in the sea or through the woods. Altogether, there were ten of them, two being ill and asking the others to go and leave them, for that they could hold out no longer. The Chief Pilot, who heard this, said that they must not be left behind, but must be brought along, even if it became necessary to carry them. They pushed on a little further, but it was past midnight when they heard two arquebus shots, and presently two more. The companions in front pressed onwards to ascertain the cause, and found that the boat had just arrived. They had been detained by contrary winds, and had made the round of the island. The party got into the boat and returned to the ship, arriving at break of day, and finding all on board anxious, owing to their long absence.

On this day the Governess proposed to the Pilots that they should depart from that island in search of San Cristobal, to see if the *Almiranta* was there, and to do what would be best for the service of God and His Majesty; and that if she was not found, her determination was to go to the city of Manilla in the Philippines, to engage priests and people, and return to complete that discovery. On this subject she asked, persuaded, and ordered each person present to give his views in the form that appeared most convenient. The view and opinion of all was that a W.S.W. course should be shaped so long as was necessary to reach a latitude of 11°, and if neither the island nor the *Almiranta* were found, then to proceed to the Philippines. They all signed their names, and the Chief Pilot undertook to return in company with the Governess, if she returned as she proposed.

The Chief Pilot said to the Governess that the ship being so injured, both in hull and rigging, the sailors few, the men sick, and it being necessary to give thirty of the

most healthy to navigate the frigate and the galeot, it would be best to abandon those two small vessels. For if this was done, the voyage of the *Capitana* would be much more secure ; for the two small vessels were in bad order, their pilots were not satisfactory, and their rigging, sails and people would all be serviceable on board the *Capitana.* To this the Captain of the galeot said that it was because the ships had not cost him any money that he wanted to abandon them. The Chief Pilot replied that he had no other motive than consideration for the good of all ; that in Manilla, whither they intended to go, they would find other and better vessels for less than 200 dols., and for such a small sum it was not worth while to risk so much. The Captain of the galeot had on his side certain ill-conditioned enemies of truth and reason, and these the Governess had for her council of state of war and marine. Each one said a little, and so things remained, nothing being done.

Presently they wanted to get rid of the trouble and charge of the sick. It was ordered that they should be sent to the frigate. The Chief Pilot protested, saying that it was unjust to send them where the conveniences were much less, or to deprive them of the comfort they had where they were in the ship, especially as all could be accommodated in the large ship, safe from the sun, night air, and damp. They replied that a sail could be set up to form a tent, underneath which they could lie at their pleasure. The Chief Pilot answered that the navigation would not always admit of tents being set up, and that the sick always needed care. It was publicly ordered that they should remain, but nevertheless a sergeant began to get them into the boat. One cried out, and the Chief Pilot came and delivered them from men with so little pity and so much folly. Finally, the Governess ordered that they should stay, and so they remained.

In the afternoon the Chief Pilot went to visit the frigate

and the galeot, leaving with them the necessary supplies of flour and water. He gave them instructions respecting the navigation they would have to work, and a chart to the Pilot of the frigate, who neither had one nor knew how to use it. At night the Captain, Don Diego de Vera, with some persons of his company, went on shore to disinter the body of the Adelantado, to be taken on board the frigate to Manilla; for on board the *Capitana* they would not consent to receive it, owing to objections which are never wanting.

CHAPTER XXVI.

How the ship and the other two vessels departed from the bay of Graciosa; the labours during the voyage; the loss of the galeot; and gives an account of a hermit.

THE distance from the bay of Graciosa to Manilla is 900 leagues. On the following day, the 18th of November of the same year, the three vessels sailed in quest of the island of San Cristobal; and the gear was in such a state that the falls carried away three times in getting the boat in.

In one month forty-seven persons died. Nearly all the rest were ill but joyful, as it seemed to them that their troubles were over. They turned their eyes to the huts of the settlement, saying: "Ah! there you remain, thou corner of Hell, that has cost us so much! mourning for husbands, brothers, and friends," they said; and went on, overcome by their own feelings.

On this day and the next they steered W.S.W. Having taken the sun, and made the calculations, the result was 11°. We looked to see if land could be seen in any direction, but none was seen. On this same day the Boatswain and four other seamen fell ill. The five or six

who remained well said to the Chief Pilot that the ship was unfit for sea, full of sick, in want of water and food; and that they could not continue to plough the sea in her. The soldiers joined with them, and there was no want of voices; nor was there wind, and the mainstay was carried away. There was appearance of evil, which lasted for a bit, owing to the opinions being different. Things being put right, the Chief Pilot said to the Governess that they were in the latitude of 11°, and that, in accordance with the agreement, she must order what should be done. She replied, that as the island of San Cristobal was not in sight, and the *Almiranta* could not be found, she would shape a course for Manilla.

The Chief Pilot made his course N.W. with the wind S.E. to avoid New Guinea, which was very near, and not to get among the islands. If it had not been for the wretched condition of the ship, I should have given orders to coast along that land, and find out what it was.

On this course we continued to sail until the 27th of the month, when we were in 5°. On that day we saw a great trunk, a great mass of reeds, with three almonds like those we had left, much straw and snakes. The wind was S.W., with squalls and showers from that direction. By these signs we understood that New Guinea was close on board. We began to experience great waves coming from N.W. and N.N.W., which knocked the ship about, and it was worse when there were calms or light winds: a sign that these winds come from the other side of the line. This continued nearly as far as the Ladrone Islands. There were also variables up to 5° N., where breezes sprang up from N.E. which lasted all the voyage. If the sun should be near the zenith when it was in Capricorn, I know not how it would be on crossing the equinoctial line.

We sailed on until the 10th of December, when I found the latitude half a degree from the line, a position in which

the sky was clear, the air quiet, the sea smooth, but no land in sight; but so cold at night that it was necessary to use blankets. Yet in the day the sun was so hot, that even when it was near the horizon the heat could hardly be borne.

The galeot had not been seen for several days, for she had parted company; so, wishing to comply with her obligations to the *Capitana*, the Governess ordered that her Captain should be notified that, on pain of being declared a traitor, he should keep his position, and not be more than half a league off. For it seemed that the *Capitana*, from her general unseaworthiness, and having her mainmast sprung, could never reach safety. Yet on that night the galeot stood on another tack, and disappeared, without being any more seen.

The ration that was served out consisted of half a pound of flour, of which they made mashed-up paste with salt water, baked in the hot ashes; half a *quartillo*[1] of water full of powdered cockroaches, which made it very nauseous and stinking. There was not much good fellowship, owing to the great sickness and little conformity of feeling. What were most evident were the ulcers coming out on feet and legs, the sadness, groans, hunger, infirmities, and deaths, with mourning for those whom it concerned. Scarcely a day passed without throwing one or two overboard, and on some days there were three and four. It came to this: that there was no little difficulty in carrying the dead up from the between decks.

The sick became rabid from the effluvia of mud and filth that was in the ship. Nothing was hidden. All the prayers were for water; some begged for a single drop, showing their tongues, pointing with their fingers, like the rich man and Lazarus. The women, with children at their

[1] A quarter of an *azumbre*, which is about half a gallon.

breasts, prayed for water, while all complained of a thousand things. Here could well be seen the good friend, he who was a father or a son, the charity and patience that was shown. Here, too, might be seen one who could accommodate himself to the times, and who could be resigned. Many deaths without confession took place, and other evils which to think of together were to feel above measure. The *Salve* was recited in the afternoon, before the image of Our Lady of Solitude, which was all the consolation in this pilgrimage.

There had come on this expedition a venerable old man and good Christian, who in Lima was *barchilon*,[1] and served in the hospital of the natives. His name was Juan Leal, which he was through all the events he was concerned with. This servant of God and worthy man, in poor health, for he was convalescent, without rest, which in good sooth it had been well if he had found, but he only sought time to occupy himself night and day without ceasing—was he who, in camp and on board, and in the present voyage, devoted himself to the service of the sick with cheerful faith. He showed that his bowels were full of charity, for all that was done for the sick passed through his hands. He bled them, cupped them, made their beds, helped them to a good death, prepared and accompanied their bodies to sepulture, or got them out of danger; a man, in short, who did well in word and deed, though deeply feeling the numerous miserable sights he beheld. But there were ears to which his voices reached, and not finding doors, they returned to their master, who afresh converted them into more love and care to help, as he did help with his accustomed piety.

[1] No such word in Spanish, nor is it a Peruvianism.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Of the state in which the ship was as she continued her voyage, and of the death of the hermit.

A LIST was made of the surviving sick, and each one was given, besides his ordinary ration, a plate of fritters helped out with honey and treacle, and in the afternoon a mug of water with a little sugar to help as sustenance. Those who were a little stronger had double rations to enable them to work at the pumps four times a day, at which they suffered fearfully, for some hid themselves, others sat down, and others stopped, saying they could not work. Night passed without being able to give rest from the evil that was so near, for its clamours and forced necessities were two things which it was not possible to remedy.

The rigging and sails were so rotten that repairs were incessant, and splicing and sewing was constantly needed. These were evils that could not be amended. The main mast was sprung from the step, and the step of the bowsprit, from not being morticed, hung on one side, taking the bowsprit with it, which caused us great anxiety. The sprit sail with all its gear fell into the sea, and none of it could be recovered. The main stay carried away a second time, and it was necessary to make another stay with part of the hemp cable, and the backstays of the mainmast, which were unrove for the purpose. There was not a yard that was not bent downwards owing to parted lifts, the topsail ties were gone, and perhaps for three days at a time the sail was flapping in the waist, because no one cared to hoist it with a rope that had been spliced thirty-three times. We took down the topsails and mizen in order to mend the courses, which at last were the only sails we used. Of the hull of the ship it may be said with truth that only

the beams kept the people above water, for they were of that excellent wood of Guayaquil called *guatchapeli*,[1] which never seems to grow old. The ship was so open in the dead wood that the water ran in and out of the ship when we sailed on a bowline.

The sailors, from the hard work and their weakness, and from seeing the ship in such a state, set no store by their lives; and one of them said to the Chief Pilot that he was tired of being always tired, that he would rather die once than many times, and that they might as well shut their eyes and let the ship go to the bottom. They did not want to work, saying that neither God nor the King required them to do what was impossible. The men said they were without strength, and if one took another in his arms he was unable to hold him up. If they should die, who was there that could revive them? The Chief Pilot answered one of them that if he should jump overboard, the Devil would have him body and soul. Many others said that as he knew how to command, he should give them nourishment from the jars of wine, oil, and vinegar which the Governess had, or that it should be sold to them in exchange for their work; that they would give receipts and pay at Manilla, or make a return in kind. They said this was necessary for them in order to recover strength to work the ship, and that if they all died she would die also. When there was the greatest necessity for them, then they would show her needs and remember what had passed. The Chief Pilot submitted their prayer to the Governess several times during the voyage, saying it was much worse to die than not to expend stores. She said that there was more obligation to her than to the sailors who talked of her favour, and if two were hanged the rest

[1] The brothers Ulloa, in their *Noticias Secretas*, spoke very highly of the "*guatchapeli*" wood of Guayaquil (p. 58) for ship-building, especially extolling its durability.

would hold their tongues. The Chief Pilot answered that he only referred to the matter in order to apply a remedy to pressing needs, that the sailors were good men, that if he advocated their cause it was not for any obligation he owed to them, but that the ship might be taken where she herself wished, and that the obligation to please her did not relieve him from the duty of his office, the pay being equal to the debt. At last she served out two jars of oil; but they were soon used up, when the complaints were renewed and continued throughout the voyage.

The soldiers seeing so long a time before them (for no time is short to those who suffer) also said a good deal: that they would gladly exchange this life for a sentence of death in a prison, or for a place on a bench in a Turkish galley, where they might die confessed, or live in the hope of a victory or a ransom. Hope in God, whose power is greater than all our necessities, said one, for that will prove an armed voyage, and above poverty.

This death, which I hold to be a happy termination to a life of good works when received with meekness, was doing service to the Lord in calling, in good time, our dear Juan Leal, who went to his reward in heaven for the merits of what he had done on earth. He died alone and forsaken, like the rest. He was exemplary in his life and customs, he valued the world and its affairs for what they were worth, he went about dressed in sackcloth next to his skin, and reaching half down his legs, with bare feet, and long hair and beard. He had passed many years in this severe course of life, serving hospitals, after having previously served for many years as a soldier in Chili. On the same night a sick man fell overboard, it was not known how, crying out for help; but he was left and was no more seen.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

How there was a proposal to elect a General; the reply of the Chief Pilot to it; the advice given by a man to the Governess, and the loss of the frigate.

THE Chief Pilot took great care of the water, as there was little left, and, by secret means, there were great wasters of it. He was therefore present when it was served out. The Governess used it very largely, requiring it to wash her clothes, for which purpose she sent a jar to be filled. The Chief Pilot said that the position should be considered, and that it did not seem just to use so much water, when there was so little. At this she took great offence, and felt it so much that she said very angrily: "Cannot I do what I please with my own property?" The Chief Pilot answered: "It belongs to all, and it will go to all. The cup is good for him that cannot wash, and it is your duty to curtail your own allowance, that the soldiers may not say that you wash your clothes with their life's blood. You should put a high value on the patience of those who are suffering, for they might take by force what there is in the ship. Starving people sometimes know how to help themselves." Upon this the Governess took the keys of the store room away from the steward, who was an honest man, to whom the Chief Pilot had entrusted them, and gave them to one of her own servants. There were not wanting those who said to the Chief Pilot that he ought not to allow himself to be ruled by a woman, and that if it was put to the vote, the majority would be for a man. But the Chief Pilot answered that they should leave her to enjoy her just title for the brief space that remained. When the time came that he was forced to act, it would then appear more reasonable to say what is now said without considering her.

One honest man[1] was anxious to see less bickering in the

[1] The "honest man" is evidently the Chief Pilot himself.

ship, and more order and peace than prevailed there. Knowing that some of the hungry and suffering people had determined to force their way into the store room when it was opened, and knowing what must happen from this project, whether fights or other mischief, so that the little food that remained would be got by blows—he said many things to the Governess touching her rule. There were not wanting those who told her not to trust him, and knowing this, he spoke thus to her: "Consider, Lady, that those who speak to you are not saints, and well they show it in what they say, for they seek their own benefit and the evil of others. Trust in the men in whom your husband trusted, for have you not seen that in his necessities and your own they have loyally done their duty, seeing your risk. Be assured that here there is no one who desires to rise, nor who would consent to it, nor any who do not owe to you a sole obedience in all that is just." She replied: "Here they come to me with complaints that I do not wish to hear." He answered: "Do not listen to them nor believe them, and treat the men well. See with what heavy loads they are laden. They might throw them off, and refuse to carry them, or make some evil agreement, so as to agree afterwards. Be sure that each one thinks that, although miseries overflow, compensations are not wanting. To these your brethren be considerate. Do not look upon them as a petty government of many heads without feet, or of many feet without a head. Reflect well on what are new affairs. These people wish for little, and here they suffer much. They owe nothing, yet they owe much; and for what they owe to you they dissimulate. If they had not come here, no one would owe anything, nor would what is wanted now be wanted; and to you all is more than owing." At last this man asked her, "What ought he to do who was warned that some wanted to kill others on board the ship?" She answered that he should look out.

He then said: "I know that it was you yourself and your brother who plotted to kill me, and you sharpened the knives; but I did not believe it easily, though I was told by a friend. Nor did I fail in caution, though now I may. You see here how it has been made sure, and if you should wish it, you can have assurance, though you may not believe who it was that deceived you. I am not afraid of what I have told you and excused, for there are very few women with such heads as Dido, Zenobia, and Semiramis."

With these troubles we went on steering the same course, N.N.W., until Tuesday, the 17th of December, when we were in 3° 30′ N. The men in the frigate were worn out by work at the pump, and it was necessary to give them three more to help them at their labour. Sailors were sent to check the water, which was coming in at many places. No diligence availed, and she could not keep up with the *Capitana*. The people were very sad, yet desirous to save the vessel because the body of the Adelantado was on board. Knowing the danger, the Chief Pilot said to the Governess several times, that it seemed right to abandon the frigate, taking off the people, who would be safe, while the ship would be better manned. As he could not prevail, he said to Don Diego de Vera, Captain of the frigate: "You know how to complain; how is it you do not know how to make things safe? Do you not see that it will be the death of yourself and your companions? Come on board this ship, for here you will be welcomed like brothers." At last the frigate was lost sight of at night, for which cause the Chief Pilot eased off the sheets, and waited until the next day in the afternoon. The soldiers began to make an outcry, saying it was no time to delay the navigation, for that the frigate would not appear, that she may have gone ahead, and that if not it was God for us all and each for himself. The Chief Pilot answered that it would be an ill deed to abandon that vessel full of

friends on the high sea, without such a pilot as could take her to safety. If she parted company, she could not be secure of reaching port. She was never more seen.

CHAPTER XXIX

How they came in sight of an island bearing north, and of the great danger in which the ship was placed.

WITH the wind from the E. and N.E. the ship continued her N.N.W. course, and on the following Saturday she came in sight of an island, for which they steered cheerfully in hopes of a port and provisions. But as it did not appear well to the Chief Pilot to go too near an unknown land during the night, he ordered the ship to be tacked. The sailors, accustomed to work, said they were not tired, and that they were quite ready to go on. The Chief Pilot eased off the foresheet, put the helm down, and the ship went round. This seemed to be the inspiration of an angel, for if she had not been put about she would certainly have been lost, as will be seen further on. Up to where the ship was the sea was clear and unbroken, but further on it was not known what the ship would strike against.

At dawn the ship stood in to where she was before night A sailor was sent to the mast-head, as was the custom morning and evening, and he reported that to the N.E. there were some great reefs, the termination of which he could not see. The ship had no after sails to enable her to work to windward ; and the water was breaking over the rocks. The ship was so near them that there appeared to be no escape, and death seemed ready to swallow us up A certain person made a prayer and a promise, in his heart, to St. Anthony of Padua ; and it served the Lord that on this day, which was that of His holy birth, the ship

came out of the danger in which she was placed. At three in the afternoon she doubled the reef, it may be said by a miracle.

Natives came in their canoes from the island under sail, others paddling. As they were unable to cross the reef, they jumped on it, and made signs with their hands. In the afternoon one single native in a small canoe came round the end of the reef. He was at a distance to windward, so that we could not see whether he had a beard, the position being near the island of the "Barbados." He seemed to be a good-sized man and naked, with long, loose hair. He pointed in the direction whence he had come, and breaking something white with his hands he ate it, and had cocoa nuts for drink. He was called to, but did not want to come.

It was evening, and, for that reason, a sailor went aloft to look out. He reported two small islands and many rocks, by which the ship was surrounded as in a yard. There was reason for despondency, as whatever course was taken (to those who did not understand) seemed to threaten danger. The ship was put on a course steering N.N.W.

This islet is in latitude 6°. It is nearly round, and about 30 leagues in circumference. It is not very high. It has many trees, and at their sides there were flowers and cultivated patches. At 3 leagues to the west there are four low islands, and many others near them, all surrounded by reefs. The sea appeared to be more clear to the southward.

CHAPTER XXX.

How they came in sight of the Ladrone Islands, and what happened there.

CONTINUING on a N.N.W. course, they were in 14° N. latitude on Monday, the 1st of January. The wind was west, and the ship was going free. On Wednesday, the 3rd of the same month, we came in sight of two of the Ladrone islands, for which we were making. One was called Guan, and the other Serpana. We passed between the two, which lie N.E. and S.W., by a channel 10 leagues wide, keeping on the side of Guan. A man who was handing the foresail fell overboard; and in the whole ship there was only one line. It was thrown over where the man had fallen alongside, who got hold of it and came up, thanks be to God! Many canoes came out from Guan under sail, with a number of Ladrone natives in them, who are stout men of a reasonable colour. They were crying out "*charume*," which means friends, and "*heoreque*," signifying "Give us iron," which is what they seek, being very fond of it. As so many came there was a great press, and some canoes fouled each other and were overturned, whose masters swimming, turned them over again with great ease. They are built with two prows, so that they can turn the sail without having to turn the canoe. They brought many cocoa nuts, plantains, rice, water, and some large fish, giving all in exchange for old iron. Those of the ship were delighted with these people and their refreshing provisions. The exchange being completed, the natives went away, all but two who were killed by an arquebus, owing to a matter of a piece of cask hoop.[1]

[1] Here Suarez de Figueroa introduces a fuller account of the Ladrone Islanders, especially of their customs connected with the burial of the dead, with an anecdote about an adventure between a Spanish soldier and a native of Guan.

The soldiers insisted much with the Chief Pilot that he should go into port at this island and procure provisions. He was very willing; but he gave it up because there was no gear for getting the boat into the water. He said this to all; but they still insisted, saying they could do it with their hands. The Chief Pilot replied: "And how will you get it on board again?" They answered: "Why cannot it be left here?" Then the Chief Pilot said: "It is not well to lose the boat, having to navigate among so many islands of which we go in search." They were very persistent; but he turned a deaf ear, and continued to shape a westerly course until Friday, the 12th, when, on taking the sun, he found the latitude to be 13° N.

CHAPTER XXXI.

How, when they came in sight of the Philippine Islands, the ship was in many dangers, and how she anchored in a good harbour.

THE Chief Pilot navigated only by information, and without a chart, seeking for the cape of Espiritu Santo, the first land of the Philippines. At daybreak land was sighted, being the peak of a high mountain; and nothing else was then seen owing to a shower of rain that came on. The land was welcomed with as much content as if we had really reached a safe haven. Some said: "Soon we shall hear Mass and seek God. There is no longer danger of death without confession, for that is a land where Christians dwell." Amidst these anticipations and great rejoicing, there were others so weak that they could not stand on their feet, and who were like skeletons ready to die; and their refrain was that they no longer wished to bring to light their propped-up bones. Presently they all applied for a double ration of water, for the want of it caused the

greatest sufferings. But the Chief Pilot said that he could not give more than the cup, for there was very little left, and we should still be at sea some time before we anchored.

Having come near the land, a bay was seen on the shore running north and south. The people said that this was a port, and that we should make for it, for God had shown us such signal mercy that He had guided us there. This was also the view of the Chief Pilot; for there was a soldier on board, who, some time before, had made this voyage and knew the coast. We continued to coast along, looking out for signs that would be satisfactory. The wind was strong from the N.E., and there was mist over land, while the sun was obscured. It did not seem advisable to the Chief Pilot to proceed further, nor to enter such a dangerous place, in which, if once embayed, it would not be possible to get out, the wind being contrary, there being few hands, and the whole furniture of the ship being bad. For these reasons he ordered the ship to be put about, intending to see if he could get the latitude by a star observation, or the sun next day, so as to be sure where he was.

They began to persuade him to go in, and he told them that it would be better to endure one day more of suffering than to lose their lives. He then examined the soldier in great detail for his reasons for being satisfied that that was the opening that we sought. His replies were as far from the truth as he was near to a mistaken notion. After all this, he and others gave their opinions to the Governess. They made their complaints, and said that the Chief Pilot did not understand how to take advantage of such a good chance. To all this he answered that no one desired the salvation of the ship more than he did, whose duty it was to seek a port on pain of loss of credit in case of failure; while as regards their lives they were all equal. "God

has been pleased to bring them there, and He would also take them to Manilla;" adding that if others had the responsibility they would not feel so certain about what they said.

The Governess also said that it appeared to be the opening, for that everyone said so. The Chief Pilot answered that she should leave it to him, for that he understood his duty; if not, she could appoint some one else. He knew that for anyone to enter that opening and get the ship into danger, he would not be without blame whoever he might be, and there would be no escape. "And how," he added, "could the sick, and all the women and children they had on board, be saved? Even if they were saved, how could they be fed and taken on their way? And what certainty was there that there was peace in that land? Even if there was, how much better was it to take such measures as would make safety certain, than to make the voyage to Manilla doubtful, it being still 300 leagues distant. Moreover, the night was coming on, which made it necessary to stand away from the land." At last the ship was put about, and kept on that tack with the care that was necessary during a night without moon.

At dawn we returned to seek the land, though it was not visible owing to mist, in consequence of which great murmurs were raised against the Chief Pilot. They said that they could only be drowned once, and it would have been better to have taken the ship in when they spoke before than to risk nothing. At last the land came in sight, in the form of a cape a little to windward. They set the bonnet, and ran in for the land, with the intention of coasting along it, the sounding line in the arm, and the deep-sea lead in the hand, ready to anchor, or decide upon what it was most desirable to do. The yard was hoisted up, and the tie was carried away. The sail fell, and the people, who were tired, did not care to apply a remedy.

At last, persuaded by good reasons, and by the proximity of dangerous reefs, the yard was got up again, and secured to the mast by stoppers. But these stoppers would not hold; the yard fell again, and to hoist it once more required both hands and tongue. The night before there had been a great swell, and now it was the same, and as the ship, head to wind, laboured much, the rigging almost all carried away, especially the running rigging belonging to the foremast, and there was only one shroud left on each side. The mast appeared so badly supported that the least thing would make it go by the board; but it was a good spar, and held on. Firmness is needful in all cases, for without it all else is worth little or nothing.

As for the reefs in sight, they were said to be the *Catanduanes*, where a ship is in great danger of foundering with all on board; while if anyone escaped by swimming, the natives shoot arrows into him like San Sebastian, which they know how to do very well. Others said we were between those reefs and the island of Manilla, in a part where it was impossible to get out. Others, that the channel was astern, and that the fault was with the Chief Pilot. Others declared that the ship would sink, that he should die who would die; and other disconcerting opinions like these, sufficient to upset the most collected.

The Governess, in her retreat, appeared to be making arrangements with death. A book of devotions in her hand, her eyes turned to heaven, making ejaculations, and as afflicted and tearful as the rest. The Chief Pilot regretted that he could not do what he intended. Some clamoured, others appeared sad, and all turned their eyes to the Chief Pilot, with whom was the whole solution. They asked him what land that was, and where they were, as if it was enough merely to see it in order to know it without further ado. At last, at the end of all this and

much more, the blame was put on the soldier who professed to know that coast: for it was thought that some devil had possessed him that day, to bring all to their deaths, if the intervention of God did not save them.

The Chief Pilot said: "What is it that you want me to say to you? I never saw the land in my life until now, nor am I a sorcerer. I came in search of the Cape of Espiritu Santo. It ought to be here, within two leagues, more or less. Can you not see that the land is covered with clouds, and so is the sky, so that I am prevented from making use of my instruments. Now we will coast along the land, and when we find a port or anchoring ground, we will bring to; for by all means we must keep the ship from grounding." He then told two sailors to set up two backstays to support the foremast, and another strong lad to have the anchor ready to let go as soon as there was bottom. But they turned their backs without answering, and made use of bad language.

The ship and crew was in this state when it pleased the Lord to look down with the eyes of clemency, and to be served by turning the bows of the ship right into a bay. A breeze sprang up, and we ran in, with a reef on either side. At this juncture three natives came to reconnoitre us in a canoe, and placed themselves to windward of the ship without saying anything. The only man on board who knew the language spoke to them, and when they saw that we were Christians, they came on board, and showed us the anchorage which we were then seeking. We anchored in the middle of the bay, in 14 fathoms. One of these natives was an interpreter. The other was the man that the English navigator, Thomas Cavendish, took with him to point out to him the channels among these islands. I asked them what land that was. They answered that it was the Cape of Espiritu Santo, and that the bay and port were called Cobos;" also that the opening was near, and that the ship

was on her right course. I asked who was then governing Manilla. They replied that Don Luis Perez de las Mariñas was Governor for the Spaniards. I asked this, because it was reported in Peru that Japan was preparing an attack with a great fleet. This news was given to people who seemed an hour before to be sentenced to death, and now were to live. They could not conceal their joy, and showed it by tears and thanks to God, Who knows how to show these mercies when He pleases to the man who serves Him.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Of what happened during the time that the ship was in the bay.

THE natives went to their village, from which others came, one with a wand of justice; and, on seeing it, and a cross on the land, the crew believed the natives to be peaceful and Christian. They brought fowls and pigs, at two or three reals a piece, together with palm wine, by drinking which some of us talked various languages; also many cocoa nuts, plantains, sweet canes, papays, roots, water in bamboo joints, and fuel. They took in exchange reals, knives and glass beads, which they value more than silver. During three days and nights the galley fire was never put out, nor was there any cessation of kneading and cooking, or of eating the boiled of one and the roast of another, so that they were eating day and night.

With mouths sweetened and stomachs satisfied, they all remained as contented as it is possible to imagine. The Chief Pilot said that this was the present work, to enable them to arrive at the port they so much desired. Some wanted to embrace him; others said that he had made them happy; and he said to all that they should give thanks to God. He said to the two sailors who would not hear

his orders: "Does it seem to you that if you had had your own way you would have given a good account of yourselves? Tell me whether you are better off here, or where you importuned me to take you?"

The natives here are of a brown colour, not very tall, and their bodies tattooed. They have no beards, nor any sign of them. Their hair is black and long. Their loins are covered with cloth, and in the villages they wore a tunic of the same material, with no colour, and reaching down to their calves. They have large gold earrings, ivory armlets, and similar ornaments on their legs, of gilded bronze, which deceived some of our people. These natives are so selfish that without silver or something they want in exchange, they will give nothing.

The sick, being so little accustomed to abundance of food, and eating without moderation, did themselves serious harm; three or four even died of it. The natives came morning and evening, bringing and bartering their produce, so that in fourteen days provisions were collected for the rest of the voyage.

The bay is open to the N.W., and when it blew hard from that quarter there was a heavy sea. The ship rode by a small cable that looked like a thread, so that it was a new mercy of God that strength was given to it to hold the ship during two days and a night, while it strained against its slender cable, with rocks and mangrove swamps to leeward. The Chief Pilot, seeing the danger in which the ship was placed, proposed to the Governess that the royal artillery and munitions should be got out and stored in one of the villages, with her property, and that of the women and children, or at least what was of most value; while, as regards the ship, he would always be on board, with the sailors, ready for anything that might happen. She replied that, for the eight days they were going to stay, what danger could there be? He then said

that he would not feel secure of the ship's safety for a single hour; and seeing the want of care of the Governess, he repeated what he had said. As she would not consent, he said he would make a protest for his own security, for she made certain of her own freedom from blame by reason of the care he took. So he drew up a brief protest, saying in it what, in his opinion, ought to be done. When she had read it, a council was called and an act was prepared, ordering that sail should presently be made for Manilla, and that they should not remain in that port. The Chief Pilot said that he gave his protest as a reply, for that the ship was not then fit to go to sea, as first she must be refitted and victualled so far as was necessary; also that the wind was then blowing into the mouth of the bay, being the direction by which they must go; also that he must protest afresh against his request not being complied with, for the ship was not safe for a moment. They drew up another order, that within an hour he should take the ship out and shape a course to Manilla, and that his conduct was disrespectful and mutinous. All these and other similar things happened there, and the Chief Pilot spoke to the soldiers to this effect: "See you not that these concerted replies of mine are to provide for your necessities? I know not what steps to take in order to bring this lady to reason. It ought to be understood that my obligation is to serve her and to endure her. But see you not that this ship is only held by a cable that can be clasped with two fingers?'

On this occasion the sailors signed a paper and gave it to the Chief Pilot, asking him, who they looked upon as their commander, that he would give them food, or an instalment of their pay; otherwise, that he would dismiss them soon, that they might go to seek for other service; for here they had sold what they had, and if they applied for rations, or advances, or pay, they had nothing but excuses and evil answers. The Chief Pilot showed the

paper to the Governess, and said that their plan was for all to go or to seize the ship. The sailors said that it was tyranny; that the King, being over all, paid, fed, and gave liberty. The Governess to this replied by saying to the Sergeant-Major: "Go to Manilla, and bring me a judge, with soldiers and a frigate, so that they may come to me and punish these people." She spoke as she understood, and would work in this way if she could, having shown her disposition. All complained and all suffered. The Chief Pilot said: "I do not wish to say during this expedition anything more, but rather to suffer a woman as Governess, and her two brothers; and all this from my desire not to offend the name of the King's presence, for now I am in the hands of Doña Isabel Barreto."

The Chief Pilot, not neglecting his duties, had soundings taken in a certain port round a cape, whither he presently took the ship and anchored her. With reason, it may be said that to avoid one danger he ran into another which was more certain, the one being quite as much by chance as the other; for both ends of the lee foresheets carried away outside the thimble; the wind was fresh, and the rocks quite close. But at such moments temerity often brings safety, as on this occasion. Sending a hawser on shore, the ship was brought into a safe port. Here he ordered the natives to make a strong cable of fibres, and other ropes, with which he both rigged the foremast and secured the ship.

In reply to the sailors, the Governess had ordered a proclamation to be made that no one was to go on shore without leave on pain of death. It happened that a married soldier went on shore without leave to get some food, or with leave according to his own account, and for this he was ordered to be arrested. A council was assembled, and presently an order was given that the prisoner should be flogged. The Sergeant-Major, who had

to carry out the order, was not handy in rigging what was required, and at last told the Boatswain to reeve a tackle and hoist up the yard. While this part of the comedy was proceeding, an ensign came up the hatchway, followed by some halberdiers as long and thin as himself. They came by authority of the sentence, with the drum which was nearly passed its work, and the most wonderful costumes, for there is no play without an interlude. The Boatswain was one Marcos Marin, an Aragonese, a large man, now old and very respectable. As he knew better how to understand things, and complain of them, than to pronounce the Castilian language, it was a wonderful thing to hear his honest liberties and well-founded complaints, which he took even to the Adelantado himself. But he was very careful, and highly intelligent in his office. As the Sergeant-Major hurried him very much, and he had very little inclination, he said: "Report, Sir Sergeant-Major, that we are all chastised with so much hunger, sickness, and so many deaths during the time we have been at sea, that it will be better to reflect on all this rather than flog another." The Sergeant-Major replied that he must obey at once, for that the Governess had given the order. The Boatswain answered: "The Lady will do equally well in giving us to eat from the store she keeps for herself; and the jars of wine and oil, given to those who need them, would be better than these floggings. I have an order, but who orders me to do what is right?" The Sergeant-Major was enraged, and the Boatswain, without any hesitation, said: "We have good security—flog here, hang there, many orders, and to die of hunger!"

On this there arose cries and complaints, and the wife of the prisoner was praying for justice from God for the injury that they were going to inflict on her husband. The Chief Pilot went to represent to the Governess that it seemed to be an unjust thing that in return for so many hardships

that the man had suffered, having lost four children and expended his property, he should be left without anything, and to die without honour. The Governess answered that he had disobeyed her orders, and that it was proper he should suffer for it. The Chief Pilot replied, saying that "they also broke the orders of God with punishment in the life hereafter, and those of Holy Mother Church with punishment of excommunication, and those of the King with the punishment of a traitor, which is loss of life, honour, and property, who hastily make the sword run with blood." The Governess said she had given the order to frighten the sailors. The Chief Pilot begged that she would not do so at such cost, and that he would look after them. With this the prisoner was set at liberty, and the solicitude of the Sergeant-Major ceased.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

How the ship sailed from this bay, and of what happened until she arrived at the entrance of that of Manilla.

THE ship left this bay of Cobos, which is in 12° 10′ N. latitude, on Tuesday, the 29th of January, and in going out we committed two bodies to the deep. By five in the afternoon we were well clear of the entrance, and left the island of San Bernardino, which is in the middle of the mouth, far astern. At night, near an island called Capul, we encountered a strong cross sea, caused by currents which are here very powerful, so that the ship was turned right round, and there was cause for thankfulness that she was not driven on shore. Next day several natives came out in *barangais* from a port on the island of Luzon called Nivalon. They brought quantities of fowls, pigs, wine and fruit; but the soldiers now had scarcely anything to barter

with, and were able to buy little. We kept the island in sight all day, and in the night we were among many others, passing through places of which experienced pilots said afterwards that they could not understand how it was that we had not been lost among the numerous reefs which we never saw. The Lord was served in protecting us.

On Thursday, the first of February, the Governess, at a place called Galvan, sent her two brothers, with seven other men, in the boat, to seek for food. This business came to such a point that the Captain, Don Diego, ordered an arquebus to be fired at one of the sailors who went up the mizen mast. The Chief Pilot said to the Governess that to no one was it more important than to her that the expedition should end in peace. This was a foolish affair, and so it was left. The boat did not come back, although we waited for her all day. They went to Manilla, which was 15 leagues distant, by a certain strait in the island, to report our approach. On the next night, before dawn, the ship was so embayed among islands that no way out was visible, without a boat and without food, for the provisions taken in at the last port were consumed. We saw many natives in canoes ; but they all fled from us, although we made signs to them. The reason was that, as this was not the time when ships arrive from New Spain, they thought the ship was English. For they remembered the ship of Thomas Cavendish, and the warning of the Governor to act thus. There was no want of anxiety about our condition, and much more that we could not see how to extricate the ship. We proceeded as well as we could, for it was nearly calm, and at last we saw a channel, so narrow that a stone might almost be thrown across it. The wind freshened and we made for it, coming out between the islands of Luzon and Caza, near a point which is called Azufre, in the wide sea of a great bay called Bombon.

Where there is hunger there is discontent. The soldiers

stood menacingly round the hatchway, because the Governess would not give the order for their rations to be served out. The Chief Pilot, seeing this, asked the accountant to request the Governess to be so kind as to order food to be served out to the people. If she did not like to give it, the Chief Pilot would sign an obligation to pay her at Manilla what the cost of the provisions would be from that time; or, if that would not do, to give it her in specie. If she refused, it might be that the store-room would be broken into. For it was not just that, there being provision on board the ship, the crew should die for want of it. The Governess sent for him and said: "Sir Captain, have you spent 40,000 dols. as I have on this expedition, or have these people undertaken it at their own charge? The Adelantado is ill paid for the great things he expected." The Chief Pilot replied to this: "My Lady, I spent my property, and each one spent what they had; many gave up their lives, and all expended all they knew. As for the Adelantado, I was a better servant to him than he was friend to me; but these passed memories do not oblige me to look favourably on present faults which give much trouble, as may well be known. These men have the same necessity to eat on one day as they have on another, and as we all have; and until we bring them to Manilla we are bound to give them to eat and drink. That which belonged to the Adelantado, and that which belongs to your Ladyship, must be used for the necessities of the voyage; and upon me falls the duty of guarding it, disposing of it faithfully, measuring the quantity, according to the time that this ship may spend with reference to the small amount of sail she is able to carry." The Governess having been convinced, said that a calf might be killed that she had on board.

While this business was being arranged, two boats came in sight, each rowed by forty natives, twenty on each side.

A signal was made to the one which came in front. She turned, but did not care to wait. They ran into each other, and made fast to a line which was thrown to them. They were asked whence they came and whither they went. They replied that they were from Manilla, which was 20 leagues distant, speaking in the Castilian language, and that they were on their way to Zebu, the first settlement that was formed by the Spaniards in those parts, an island 100 leagues from Manilla. I asked for a native as a guide, because the ship had to pass some reefs called "Tuley" during the night. They gave one a wage of 3 dols. for his trouble. The Chief Pilot bought from them two large baskets of rice for two pair of shoes, which was divided among the people. The Governess wanted to buy two more, but she could not agree about the price; so, having given us the guide, they let go the line and proceeded on their way. A careful watch was kept during the night, and next morning we came in sight of the opening to the bay, which we kept nearing by coasting along the land of the island of Fortun. The wind was contrary for entering on the west side, for there was a breeze from the north-east.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Of what took place with the sailors on the arrival; how four Spaniards came on board; and other things that happened until the ship was anchored at Cavite.

THERE is an island called Marivelez, at the entrance of the bay of Manilla, where there is usually a Spanish look-out man, with native rowers and light boats, to go out and reconnoitre any ships that are coming in, so as to give early intelligence to the Governor. There is also a small rock called El Frayle, bearing north from Marivelez.

These two islands form three channels, and to enter the one between Marivelez and El Frayle I began to alter course. As the only sails we had were the two courses, and the crew weary and disinclined to work, while not unwilling to injure the ship so as to revenge themselves, we made little or no way, and indeed began to lose ground. We went on like this for three days, all tired and annoyed to find that we did not sight the island, and were thus deprived of the pleasure of reaching and resting at Manilla. All was sorrow, and waiting for one tide after another, counting the hours for its flood, that we might get inside; but as no order was kept, that hour did not come. The sailors said to the Chief Pilot that he should run that ship on shore, for that they had worked enough, and done more than they were bound to do. The thing that ought to be was to see the land on both sides, and the smoke of Manilla. When they gave any help, they did so very slowly, as if it was done as a favour. There was now neither food to eat nor water to drink. There was only a foul wind, and the affliction expressed in consequence. The Governess said that she had only got two sacks of flour and a little wine, and that she wanted it all to say masses for the soul of the Adelantado.

The Chief Pilot showed much feeling against the sailors who wanted to run the ship on shore, and told them to look and see that all that coast was steep to, and with a heavy sea. "See you not," he said, "that we have no boat, and that the ship is full of sick without food. If you would give notice at Manilla, there is nothing to take you over the sea, and by land it would take several days. It is not possible to sustain the people for one more day. Let it not be said that you only want those to be saved who have health and know how to swim. Reflect that we have brought the ship from such remote parts, by a route never before navigated. The little that remains cannot appear

much to those who have suffered so much with such great courage. And how would you suffer where they look out for us, at losing the reward your labours deserve? Reflect well that if the ship arrived well furnished, full of healthy men, well fed and paid, in that case there would be small thanks." They answered that "they were only sailors, and that when the ship was anchored they would get no credit, but only the Chief Pilot who commanded them." To this he replied that the greatest reward for which he hoped was to anchor the ship in a safe harbour, where all could enjoy the good things they so much desired.

There were many very painful scenes such as this, when that merciful Lord, who is always looking down upon us and brings succour and relief in times of greatest necessity, like a father to his children though prodigal, was served that we should come in sight of a boat, which rapidly approached the ship with sail and oars. When it came near four Spaniards could be seen in it, who seemed like 4,000 angels, and eight natives were rowing them. This was the look-out man, who, as has been said, is always stationed at Marivelez, named Alonzo de Albarran, with the chief butler of the Governor and two soldiers. They came by the Governor's order, to condole with the Governess on her misfortunes, and to bring a letter, which she presently showed to the Chief Pilot, and which contained many and most honourable greetings. The coming of the ship had become known from the brothers of the Governess, who had come by land. The satisfaction of all on board was such, and so warmly shown, at the sight of the four Spaniards, that it cannot be described. The sailors gave their hands, and helped them into the ship, where they were received only with embraces, for there was nothing else to give them. And they, looking carefully from one to another, and seeing them so sick, covered with boils, poverty-stricken, with tattered clothes, and

surrounded by so much misery, could only exclaim: "Thanks be to God! Thanks be to God!"

The look-out man went down between decks to see the hospital and the sick women, who, when they beheld him, cried out: "What do you bring us to eat? Oh, give us food, for we are mad with hunger and thirst." With the hope of refreshment some were consoled, and the look-out man came on deck again, much horrified at what he had seen. Then, seeing two pigs on board the ship, he said: "Why do they not kill those pigs?" They told him that they belonged to the Governess, and he prayed hard to her to allow them to be killed, having said: "What the Devil! Is this a time for courtesy with pigs?" The Governess then ordered them to be killed, and a soldier, who took careful note of such things, exclaimed: "O, cruel avarice! which even with a gentle and pious woman turns her heart into a stone, even in a business so necessary, cheap, and clear!" God was served that all the good wine appeared too. The ship came to Marivelez on the next tack, whence the Governess sent a soldier with the reply to the letter she received from the Governor, which was sent by the returning boat.

Soon afterwards another boat was seen, in which was the Chief Magistrate of that part of the coast, with the brothers of Doña Isabel. They brought much fresh bread, wine and fruit, presented by the Governor. When it was being distributed there was seen, in respectable persons, some things which were far from well ordered. For in such necessitous times as were those, ordinary obligations are disregarded. All got a share, some more than others, which they consumed during that afternoon. One boy died from exhaustion, due to previous privations. The long night passed with hope of day, when a large barge arrived laden with fowls, calves, pigs, bread, wine, and vegetables brought by Diego Diaz Marmolego, the land-

owner of that part, by order of the Governor. They were also sent on board, and plentifully distributed among all, with much liberality.

The ship was nearing the port, though obliged to make several tacks. Presently, Pinao, Assistant Master of a royal ship, came in a skiff full of sailors, all dressed in coloured silks, to help the few weak men in the ship. The Captain of the port was on the beach, with the banner flying, and all the soldiers drawn up with their arms. At the point of letting go the anchor, all the artillery saluted, as well as the arquebusiers round the standard. The ship replied as well as she could, riding by one anchor secured to the slight cable, so celebrated during the voyage. This was on the 11th of February, 1596, in the long desired and long sought for port of Cavite, two leagues S.W. of the city of Manilla, capital of the Philippines, in latitude 14° 30′ N. Fifty persons had died since the ship left Santa Cruz.

As soon as the ship was anchored, some men came on board, moved by charity, with bread and meat, which now became plentiful. Presently the sailors and other persons from the city came to see the ship, as a sight both on account of her great need as that she came from Peru, as it was said, to fetch the Queen of Sheba from the Isles of Solomon. All came on board, and, having seen how little there was, they wondered that she should ever have arrived in safety, and they praised God that she should have been spared, to Whom be the honour and the glory, and to Whom the success should be attributed and the thanks given, for His are the great mercies shown during the voyage. It is to be noted that if the people who died had not died, those who survived would not have arrived with more than twenty jars of water and two sacks of flour. Thus concluded, as they say, this unhappy voyage with safety.

CHAPTER XXXV.

What happened until the people went to Manilla.

THIS joyful day passed, and the night came, in which there were not wanting some new, but not unusual, annoyances with the Magistrate of the coast, to whom Doña Isabel had made complaints in private. He showed himself to be a judge who sided with the first comer without hearing the other side; for if he would have heard, he would have known how much that lady owed to him who brought her where she was, and how little, from any point of view, he owed her. But it is very unusual for poor men to work without pay or thanks, and for others to do evil to him to whom good is due. He took one sailor, and to another he gave sharp words and threatened, saying that it was an old custom for the people of Peru to be mettlesome, and that if they came in that spirit they must not think that they were there in their island, where they could do as they pleased; that those who failed to pay would be punished, or would have to pay double, or with their lives. He made other remarks, and was answered that all who came had been and were good vassals of the King; and as for the rest, they were as good as others. These altercations ended at last, but the long desired night was passed with less content than had been anticipated. For the satisfactions of this life come tardily, and endure little longer than a sigh.

Next morning the Master of the Camp came to the ship by order of the Governor, with an alderman sent by the Municipality, and a clergyman by the officials of the Church, all to receive the Governess, and to arrange for the sick to go to Manilla. The Governess was taken to the royal residence at the port, and again there was a salute when she disembarked. Having partaken of refresh-

ments, she was received in a boat, and conducted to the city. She entered at night, was received with an illumination, and well lodged.

The sick were carried out of the ship in men's arms, and taken to the hospital. The widows were received in the houses of the principal residents, and afterwards they were all married to their satisfaction. The convalescents and the rest of the soldiers were lodged by rich inhabitants, The married were put in houses where they were received, lodged, and tended, with much love and pleasure, by respected citizens of Manilla. In a few days ten died, and four entered monastic orders.

The frigate was never more seen. There was a report that she had been found with all her sails set, and the crew dead and decomposed, run upon a certain part of the coast. The galeot reached port at an island called Mindanao, in 10°, having been lost among all those islands. The people on board were reduced to such necessity that they landed on a small islet called Camaniguin, to kill and eat a dog they had seen on shore. Some natives, who met them by chance, guided them to a port where there were some fathers of the Company of Jesus. The fathers took them to a Governor in that district, who sent five of them prisoners to Manilla, because their Captain quarrelled with them, saying they wanted to mutiny. They were sent with a letter to Dr Antonio de Morga, Lieutenant-General of that Government, which he showed to the Chief Pilot. It was as follows :—

" Here came into port a galeot with a Captain who was as impertinent as the things he said. He was asked whence he came, and he replied that he belonged to the expedition of the Adelantado Alvaro de Mendaña, which was undertaken to make a voyage from Peru to the Solomon Islands, consisting of four vessels. This galeot put in here, and, as she carried a royal flag, I received her as was proper. If

the others were here, this would be better known. Against the soldiers there is no process. They said that, because the Captain wished it, he parted company from the ship with his galeot."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Which contains a discourse by the Chief Pilot, explaining why they did not find the Solomon Islands.[1]

THE reason why the Solomon Islands, of which the Chief Pilot, Hernan Gallego, who discovered them, makes mention in his narrative, and of which the Adelantado, Alvaro de Mendaña, went in search, are not the Islands of the Marquesas de Mendoza, nor those of Santa Cruz which we discovered in this voyage: and why we pressed so far in advance of the position where he said they were in conformity with his instructions, may, as it seems to me, be conveniently explained here, to satisfy the doubts which may be raised respecting the cause of our not reaching them.

I find three reasons which might form impediments to our reaching the Solomon Islands in the positions where we were.

The first is the belief that they had less longitude than was really the case, for they would not seem so far to the people who had to go for their settlement.

The second is some motive of private interest, leading to a concealment of the true latitude, giving to it somewhat less or more.

The third is ignorance, or the want of the instruments to calculate certain distances, or an error in judgment while navigating: what appears to be one thing being another; or a mistake in writing.

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[1] The object of the voyage had been to reach the Solomon Islands, which Alvaro de Mendaña had discovered in his first voyage. The arguments of Quiros consist of a criticism of the report of Gallego, the Chief Pilot of Mendaña's first voyage.

As for the first, if it was so that we were not given the true longitude of the Solomon Islands, I say that we really did not reach them, and that they are further to the west than the islands we discovered. The reason is that, if what the Adelantado told me was true, by whose order I prepared the navigating charts, and if what appears in his instructions and in the narrative of Hernan Gallego is true, the Solomon Islands are in latitude 7° to 12° S., 1,450 leagues from Lima. There cannot be an error, as we always continued to navigate without reaching the position, and could not have passed them when they were 400 leagues further to the west. It must, therefore, be believed that they were not behind but in front of us.

As to the second reason, if it was interest, as many people said, that induced Hernan Gallego, when the Adelantado asked him for the route to these islands, not to give him the true position as regards latitude, this may explain it. For when he was at Court to report to his Majesty he had not negociated for himself; and as the Adelantado, when he undertook the discovery, did not understand the art of navigation, he could be deceived. On the other hand, his observations could not be kept so secret when they were taken by four pilots, who must have known as well as the people who were with them; nor did Hernan Gallego then know that he would have a disagreement with the Adelantado. Nor do I believe that a man of such high character would do such a thing. Moreover, if in this there was deceit, I say that if the islands were in 7° at the least, or in 12° at the most, and we seek them between 7° and 12°, they might well remain behind us, on one of the two sides.

As for the third reason, if it was ignorance there is nothing more to be said. It is very certain that navigating so much as they navigated from east to west, they were on a course on which altitude is not altered, nor is longitude fixed except by such estimation as each one may make. In this there may be very great error, as well in him who

makes the estimate as in the ship which, in such a case, may have been understood to have gone over less ground than she is supposed to have made good.

In proof of the greater distance between Peru and the Solomon Islands, I may mention that Hernan Gallego says in his narrative—and the Adelantado also told me the same—that being among the Isles of St. Bartholome,[1] in 8° 40′ N., in the position of the Barbudos, they saw a vessel flying from them under a head sail. They sent the boat on shore; all the natives fled to one of their villages, which our people entered, and brought thence to the ships a chisel made of a nail, from which they understood that Spaniards had been or were there.

What they suspected, respecting this circumstance, was that when the Adelantado, Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, discovered the Philippine Islands, a pilot named Lope Martin, returned to New Spain without orders, to bring the news to the Viceroy, Luis de Velasco, who had sent that expedition of discovery, by whom he was very well received and dispatched with succour. He, or one of the people who went with him, also took a letter which a certain friend of the Adelantado Legazpi wrote from Mexico, in which it was said that as soon as it was received Lope Martin should be hanged for having taken the leave which was not given to him. This letter, I know not by what order, got into the hands of Lope Martin. Besides this, between him and the others there were encounters and some deaths, including that of the Captain. Arrived at the Barbudos, Lope Martin went on shore with some of his friends. Meanwhile the Boatswain, with the men of his party, conspired and made sail, leaving them on the island. As the Adelantado, Alvaro de Mendaña, arrived at the islands a little time after this event, it was suspected that those who had been left there thought that Mendaña

[1] *Solomon Islands*, vol. i, pp. 67, 68 (Hakluyt Society, 1901).

came in search with the object of punishing them; and for that reason they fled in that vessel which they had probably built, and went to New Guinea.

I say that if this is true, as the islands of the Barbudos are in 8°, 9°, or 10°, more or less, and 2,000 leagues or more from Peru, and as Hernan Gallego, coming from the Solomon Islands, which he says are 1,450 leagues from Lima, to seek the coast of New Spain, navigating from N.E. to N., for so bear the islands from that coast, he could not fall in with the Barbudos, being from the Solomon Islands at least N.E., having come from a much greater longitude than they really thought, or did not wish to say. Moreover, inhabited islands are no small indication that New Guinea is near.

Hernan Gallego says, in these formal words, that "in 2° or 3° to the S.W. we found very clear signs of land, but never saw any land whatever. Finally, we concluded that we had land to the west of us, and that it was New Guinea; not in a higher latitude than 4° S., for it was discovered by Inigo Ortiz de Retes, and by no one else. Bernardo de la Torre neither discovered nor saw it, nor is there such a place as the Cape of the Cross."[1]

I say, touching such signs as the palms seen in the sea, which Hernan Gallego mentions, that I also saw many, which might make me believe that New Guinea was near, being in the same latitude, and for other reasons that I will give further on. Also, in a northerly direction, I came upon the Barbudos in 6°, an island peopled by good natives. Moreover, I came from the island of Santa Cruz, 1,850 leagues from Lima, and afterwards navigated another 40 leagues more to the west, making 440 further than Hernan Gallego, according to his own account. And as I navigated to the Philippines, which is more to the west, I was more in the way of seeing the signs of the island I

[1] *Solomon Islands*, vol. i, p. 66.

found than was Hernan Gallego. For he confesses that he went 1,450 leagues from Lima, and took his way to New Spain, which is N. to N.E. This proves that he could not have seen those signs, nor the islands he sighted, without having gone over much more longitude than he stated.

Hernan Gallego says further, in his report to the Licentiate Castro, who was at that time President of the Audience in the city of the Kings, who despatched the expedition :—"Being in 7° S., 30 leagues from the island of Jesus,[1] which was the first we discovered as we saw the archipelago of islands, it was never intended to prosecute discoveries further, but that we should return to Peru, as is public and notorious. If we had gone on another cock would have crowed, for we should have discovered another land, different from this, and very near where we were. The goodness of the land I do not wish to dilate upon, because your Lordship will hear that from others."

I quote this to show that Hernan Gallego was certain that he was near New Guinea as he says. He could not have come to this conclusion if he had not known that it was 2,000 and more leagues from Lima; for in his position he could not have been deceived, because it was discovered at a very short distance, as the Maluco Isles are from it. Miguel Rojo de Brito, a native of Lisbon, went from Maluco to New Guinea, and said that they were close to each other, as may be seen in a chapter of his narrative which will be attached to this discourse. Although I do not know the original intention of that expedition, I suspect that they went in search of New Guinea, because it is explained that Iñigo Ortiz de Retes was its discoverer, and not Bernardo de la Torres. So that it may be looked upon as certain that it was from a report of one of these,

[1] Identified by Mr. Woodford as Nukufetan in the Ellice Group, in 7° 50′ S.—*Solomon Islands*, vol. i, p. 14 (*n.*), 1901.

or both, that they were deriving the information respecting the object they sought. For Gallego says that the Cape of the Cross has no existence, and that New Guinea is in not more than 4° S., implying that one said it was in 4°, which seemed most likely to be correct, and the other in more. He went in search, but did not find it; coming by chance on the island of Jesus in 6° 45′, and presently came to the reefs of Candelaria, and the Island of Santa Isabel, and always discovering by a higher latitude and decreasing longitude. The reason for not sighting New Guinea was the same as prevented us from reaching the Solomon Islands, namely, the island of Santa Cruz. My conclusion is that New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, and the Islands of Santa Cruz are all near each other, for a reason I shall give presently.

Hernan Gallego says, further, that the Adelantado asked his opinion respecting the return from those islands to Peru, across 1,700 leagues of sea; that the port on this island of Cristobal was three leagues by land from the most eastern point; that with a fresh breeze from S.E. they navigated 20 leagues N.E. ¼ E., and 15 leagues N.E. ¼ N., and N.E. 25, and 18 N.N.E., and when there the latitude was 7°, and 30 leagues from the island of Jesus to E.

He says that this island of Jesus was the first they discovered in 6° 45′ S., and that its distance from the city of Lima was 450 leagues. If this is as he says, that from this island of Jesus to the port whence he had come the course runs N.-S., it follows that the same number of leagues intervening between the island of Jesus and Lima, also intervene between San Cristobal and Lima, both being almost on the same meridian. It is clearly to be seen that there is carelessness here, or that there was an error in his calculation, and there no doubt was one throughout in trying to determine the true longitude. For in so short a distance as there is from one point to the other, there cannot have

been a mistake of 250 leagues. Whence I infer that, in such a long route as that from Lima to the Solomon Islands, the error would be much greater, the course being east and west.

If his narrative is considered, other obscure and contradictory points will be found. In one place he says that the natives told him that those islands to the S.E. were extensive, and that he saw them. Presently he says that a sailor climbed up a palm tree, and could not see them. He says that at the Island of Guadalcanal he could not see the end, and that the coast ran westward. Further on, he says that it would take six months to go round it; and that the land he did not see was reported to be very good, but that he certainly did not see it. He reports that it was better to take a northern route in returning to Peru, because it was difficult to find favourable winds further south. Few pilots would give this reason, because the usual winds outside the tropics, in the same latitude, are much the same on the north as on the south side. And how much easier was it, being (as he says) certain that there was no land to the S.E., to go to 11° S., where he would have found the route to 30° or 40° on that side, than to run down 11° and go up 30° or more on the other side, and yet be further from Peru.

It may seem strange that the Adelantado did not meet with the islands that we have now discovered on his first voyage. I reply that, when he began the voyage from Peru, he made a large curve W.S.W. to 18°, and another to W.N.W. to 6°, more or less, and followed that parallel, as I have been told by one who was on board. This was the reason that he did not come upon the islands in question, which are in a higher latitude, leaving them to the south and passing to the north of them.

There is further proof that the islands of Santa Cruz are near the Solomon Islands. The natives are the same colour, they dye their hair in the same way, called their

chief "Jauriqui," have the same arms, pigs and fowls, and many other things in common. It may really be concluded that all the people of Santa Cruz and the Solomon Islands came from the archipelago of the Philippines. The Santa Cruz people dye their teeth red and black, and use the *buyo*, as in the Philippines. In the Island of Luzon there are black men, who are said to be the aborigines of the land. They are called *Pogotes*, and are retired on the island of Maragondon and other islands. For the Moors and other Indians occupy their lands, drive them away, and force those that remain into corners of the land where they now are. It may well be that, by reason of the invaders, the persecuted people have gone away to seek other settlements, until they came to New Guinea as the nearest place, and thence to the Solomon Islands and Santa Cruz. The half-breeds, and differences of colour among them, proceed from intercourse between them.

In conclusion, I may say that the Adelantado told me, as well as certain pilots of that time, that Hernan Gallego, navigating on the coast of Mexico, made the land one day, and that afterwards he sailed over 700 leagues to reach the same place again. These, added to the 1,450 leagues which, he says, intervene between the Solomon Islands and Lima, make more than the 2,000 leagues which I say intervene between Lima and New Guinea, from which point the distance really ought to be drawn. This being so, my suspicion is confirmed; and there may be seen, as he says, the signs of the land of New Guinea, when he met with the Barbudos, and he did not see the land when he said he did. For if he had gone over the 1,450 leagues, as he said, it would take much more than four months of navigation. There are a little over 700 leagues from there to the coast of New Spain, navigating by the best-known route, which is that by the north. So that there cannot have been so great a mistake, if it was not from having intended to go by that point, and have taken the said 700

leagues more to the west. This appears to explain what has been said until the contrary is shown.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Of various things that happened to the Chief Pilot, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros.

WE were some time in the city of Manilla, which is the capital of the government of the Philippine Islands. It is built on a clear point running out into the sea, and by the mouth of a river. It has a good fortress, and other houses well worthy of special note, on which a long chapter might be written. But I must be excused, referring the reader to a special book on the city, the Philippine Islands, and the history of their conquest, which was written by Dr Antonio de Morga.[1]

While I was in the city there arrived the new Governor, Don Francisco Tello, who had been Treasurer of the Board of Trade at Seville. There were great festivals for his reception, got up both by the Spaniards and natives. It was a special sight to behold three elephants which were brought into the square, of which the largest, named Don Fernando, had been sent as a present from the King of Cambodia to the late Governor when he asked for help. On each one there was an Indian driver, dexterous in the method of governing the elephant, both by words and by the use of an iron hooked instrument. Placed in front with his goad, the driver made him run, march, go down on his knees, raise himself, and other things well worth seeing. This hook serves the same use as a bridle for a horse. They were performing in front of the Governor, who was sitting at a window, to whom they put their knees on the

[1] Edited for the Hakluyt Society by Lord Stanley of Alderley in 1868.

ground three times, the feet stretched out behind, as they are unable to double up. The performances of the elephants were numerous, and, as a conclusion, they took Don Fernando apart, and his Indians placed him facing the beams on which had been fastened the castle of fire on the night before. Saying a word, and touching his forehead with the goad, the elephant gave a blow, and took the beam on his two tusks with great ease; and so he upset the whole: a thing worth seeing.

A few days afterwards (according to what was said), when this elephant was drinking at the river, there came to him a great and well-fed crocodile, which had taken many natives in that river. He seized the elephant by the trunk, and when the elephant felt it, he raised up the crocodile just as easily as a fishing rod raises a light fish, and let him fall on the ground without more ado. A crocodile, such as this one, weighs as much as a fat bullock.

They say also that this elephant had a boil on his gum, of which the native driver cured him, but the pain made him throw about his trunk so as to hurt his driver. When the elephant was to be healed, the driver said to him: "I am very angry, Don Fernando, for in return for the good I did you, you tried to kill me. What do you think the King, my Lord and yours, who sent you here, and gave me for your companion to look after you, if he knew of it, would say. See how you can no longer eat, and are getting thin, and you will soon die without any fault of mine. Open your mouth, if you please, and presently I will cure you like a friend, forgetting the harm you did me." The elephant, having taken two turns with his trunk round a shelf that was there, opened his mouth, and was operated upon without moving, his groans showing what pain he endured. And so he was cured.

Of another elephant they told me that, to avenge himself on a native who had charge of him, he crushed him when

he passed through a doorway, and killed him. The man's wife said to the elephant: "Don Pedro, you have killed my husband. Who is now going to maintain me?" On which the elephant went to the market place, and took a basket of rice which it gave to her, and when it saw that she had eaten it all, it fetched another, and then another. Things are said of these animals which seem incredible, and the wonderful thing is that they understand everything, in whatever language it is spoken, as I have myself seen. An elephant was surrounded by Spanish soldiers, and one told him, without making any sign, to take a plantain out of his pocket and eat it. The elephant promptly put his trunk into the pocket, and when he found that no plantain was there, he took up a little earth in his trunk, and threw it in the face of the soldier who had deceived him.

When the festivities were over, our Governess married a young cavalier named Don Fernando de Castro, a cousin of the Governor Marinas, who, as was just, took possession of the property of his wife as his own, and he was able to secure much in the city. With this help the ship was victualled and furnished with all that was necessary. On the day of St. Lawrence, we made sail to undertake the voyage to New Spain. But, having started so late, we had to go through incredible hardships and troubles. At last we arrived in the port of Acapulco on the 11th of December of the year 1597, where the ship was visited, and all received free leave to land. There I, Captain Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, took leave of the Governess, and of my other companions, and embarked on board a passenger ship for Peru.

NARRATIVE

OF

THE VOYAGE

OF THE

ADELANTADO

ALVARO DE MENDAÑA DE NEIRA

FOR THE

Discovery of the Islands of Solomon.

WRITTEN BY

THE CHIEF PILOT,

PEDRO FERNANDEZ DE QUIROS,

FOR

D.R ANTONIO DE MORGA, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF THE PHILIPPINES.

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[1] Contained in the *Sucesos de las Islas Philipinas* of Antonio de Morga (1609); translated by Lord Stanley of Alderley for the Hakluyt Society, 1868.

SECOND VOYAGE

OF THE

ADELANTADO ALVARO DE MENDAÑA,

BY

HIS CHIEF PILOT, PEDRO FERNANDEZ DE QUIROS.

ON Friday, the 9th of April, of the year 1595, the Commander-in-Chief, Alvaro de Mendaña, set sail with his fleet to go and subject and people the western islands of the South Sea, from the port of the Callao of Lima, which is in 12½° S. latitude; passing by the valleys of Santa, Truxillo and Saña, and collecting men and provisions, he went to Paita, where he took in water, and made a list of four hundred persons, more or less, with his four vessels, two large and two small. He left this port (which is 5° higher than the said port), steering W.S.W., making for the islands of his discovery: he took as Master of the Camp Pedro Merino Manrique, and as Admiral his brother-in-law, Lope de la Vega, and as Chief Pilot, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros; and he sailed on this course to the altitude of 9½°, from which point he sailed W. and to the point S.W. to 14°, where he changed his course to W. and the point N.W.; and having reached, by this course, fully 10° of latitude, on Friday, 21st of July,

we sighted an island, to which the General gave the name of Magdalena, and from a port in it there came forth about seventy canoes, in each of which came three men, in some more in others less. Others came swimming, and others on logs: they were more than four hundred natives, white, and of very agreeable appearance, tall and strong, large limbed, and so well made that they had greatly the advantage over us; with handsome teeth, eyes and mouth, hands and feet, and most beautiful flowing hair, and many of them very fair. Amongst them were most beautiful youths; they were entirely naked, without covering on any part, and all had their bodies, legs, and arms, and hands, and some of them their faces, marked after the manner of the Bisayas here: and indeed, for savage people, naked and of so little reason, at sight of them there was much cause to praise God who created them. Let this not be taken for exaggeration, for so it is. These people called us to go to their port, and we called to them from our flag-ship, and they went on board of her, a matter of forty of them; and we appeared to be men of less than the usual stature by the side of them; and amongst them there came one who was understood to be a palm taller than the tallest man of our fleet, although we had in the fleet men of more than regulation height. The General gave there to some of them shirts and other things, which they received with much pleasure, and danced after their fashion, and called to the others. The General was put out of temper at the liberties they took, because they were great thieves; and he ordered a cannon to be fired to frighten them; when they heard it they took to swimming, and all seized their arms, and sounding a conch, they threw a few stones, and threatened with their lances, for they had no other arms. From the ship they fired at them with arquebuses, and killed five or six, and they remained there. As our fleet sailed on we discovered three other islands. This

island may be 6 leagues round; we passed by it on the S. side; this is high, precipitous towards the sea, with rocky ravines, in which the natives dwell. There seemed to be many inhabitants in it, for we saw them on the rocks and beach; so we went on making for the other three islands. The first, to which was given the name of San Pedro, will be 10 leagues from Magdalena, and runs with it northward and to the point N.W.: it will have 3 leagues circuit. It is an island beautiful to look at, with much wood and fair fields: we did not know whether it was inhabited, for we did not come close to it. To the S.E. of it, about 5 leagues off, is another, which the General named Dominica; it is very fair to look at, and seemed thickly inhabited: it may have about 15 leagues circumference; and to the S. of this, and a matter of little more than a league off, is another island, which may be 8 leagues round, which received the name of Santa Christina; and our fleet passed through the channel between this and the other island. For all that we saw of these islands is clear sailing; and on the W. side of Sta. Christina a good port was found, in which the fleet anchored. These natives did not come before me like the others, but some very beautiful women were seen. I did not see them, but persons who had an opinion in the matter affirmed to me that there were as beautiful women as in Lima, but white, and not so tall; and in Lima there are some very pretty. What was seen in the way of victuals in that port was pigs and hens, sweet canes, very good plantains, cocos; a fruit which grows on high trees; each is as large as a large fir cone; it is very good to eat; much of it was eaten—green, roasted and boiled, and when ripened it is indeed so sweet and good a fruit to my way of thinking, that I know no other which has the advantage of it; there is hardly anything in it to throw away, unless a little husk. There was another fruit, like chestnuts in savour, but much

larger than six chestnuts together: a good deal of that was eaten, roast and boiled; and some nuts with a very hard shell, which were very oily, and many of them were eaten; some suspect that they brought on looseness. We also saw pumpkins of Castille sown in the ground. There is a pretty waterfall close to the beach of very good water; it comes out of a rock, at the height of two men; its volume may be of the thickness of four or five fingers; and then, close to it, a stream of water, and the vessels supplied themselves from it. The natives went off to the mountains and rocks, in which they fortified themselves, and tried to do mischief by rolling stones and hurling them; but they never wounded any one, for the Master of the Camp stopped their advance by placing outposts. The natives of this island, on seeing a negro of ours, made signs towards the S., to say that in that direction there were men like him, and that they went there to fight, and that the others had arrows, and that these went in large canoes, which they possess. As there was no interpreter, nor much curiosity to learn more, the matter remained thus; but in my opinion, this is not possible for natives so isolated, unless there is a chain (of islands), because their boats and customs in other matters do not show that these people had come there from any great distance.

This port is in 9½° S. latitude. The Commander-in-Chief ordered three crosses to be set up in it, and on Saturday, 5th of August, to weigh anchor and set sail, making for the W., to the S.W., or N.W., a matter of 400 leagues. Sunday, the 20th of August, we saw four low islands, with sandy beaches, full of very many palms and woods, and on the S.E. side, towards the N., a great sand-bank. All four may have a circuit of 12 leagues. We did not know whether they were inhabited, because we did not go close to them. This year all seemed timid: I say this with rage. They are in 10¾° latitude, and were name

after St. Bernard, having been discovered on his day. Henceforward we began to meet with S.E. winds, which appear to predominate here. With these we continued sailing to the above-mentioned points, never rising above 11 or going below 10 leagues, until Tuesday, 29th of August, when we discovered a round islet, which might be a league round, all surrounded by reefs. We tried to land on it, and could not find where to do so, in order to get wood and water for the Admiral's ship, of which it had run very short; it was given the name of Solitary Island; it is in 10⅔°, and will be 1,535 leagues from Lima. From this place we went on navigating, with the above-mentioned orders, and a variety of opinions were given: some saying that we did not know where we were going, and other things which did not fail to cause grief. It was God's pleasure, that on the eve of Our Lady in September, at midnight, we saw an island, which might have a circuit of from 90 to 100 leagues, and it lies about E.S.E. and W.N.W., and will be 1,800 leagues from Lima. The whole of it was very full of woods, reaching to the highest ridges, and where it was not cleared for the natives to sow, in all the rest not a span of earth was to be seen. The ships came to anchor in the northern part of the island in 10° latitude. To the N. of this port, about 7 leagues off, is a volcano, with a very well-shaped hill, from the top of which and from other parts issued much fire. The volcano is lofty, and may have a circumference of 3 leagues; it is precipitous on the side of the sea, and all bare, and without any part where a landing can be effected; it rumbles within frequently and loudly like thunder. To the N.E. of this volcano there are some small islets, which are inhabited, and a great quantity of shoals; there is a distance of 7 or 8 leagues to these islets, and the shoals run to the N.W.; and the person who went to see said that they were numerous. Around the great island there were some small

islands: all of them, and the great one (when it was circumnavigated), were found to be inhabited; and within sight of this great island, to the S.E. of it, there was seen another island of no great size: this must be the link with others. After putting into port in the great island of Santa Cruz, for this was the name given it, the Commander-in-Chief ordered Captain Don Lorenzo, brother of his wife, to go with the frigate to seek the Admiral's ship, which disappeared on the night in which we saw the island, respecting which I make no favourable conjecture; it was sought for this and two other times, and was not found, but only the shoals which I have mentioned. What was seen in the way of victuals in this port consisted of pigs, hens, plaintains, sweet canes, one, two, or three kinds of roots like sweet potatoes, which they eat roast and boiled, and make biscuit with it, *buyos*, two kinds of good almonds, and two kinds of pine nuts, wood-pigeons, doves, ducks, grey and white herons, swallows, pot-herbs, pumpkins of Castille, the fruit which I mentioned in the first islands, and chestnuts and nuts. There is a very strongly-scented sweet basil, and red flowers, which at this port they keep in the gardens, and two other species of another sort, also red. There is another fruit on high trees, like pippins for their good smell and savour. There is a great quantity of ginger, which grows there without its being cultivated, and much *yerba chiquilite*, with which they make indigo. There are agave trees, and a great deal of sagia, and many cocoa nuts. Marble was seen, and pearl shells, and large snail shells, like those which are brought here from China. There is a very copious spring, and five or six other rivers, though not very large. The settlement was established close to this spring. The natives attempted to defend themselves; and as the arquebus tells at a distance, seeing the evil effects, they did not defend themselves much, but, on the contrary, gave some of what they possessed. In

this matter of going for provisions there were a few things happened, which were not very good treatment of the natives, for they killed the native who was our best friend, and the lord of that island; his name was Malope; and two or three others, who were also friendly. Of the whole island no more was seen than a matter of 3 leagues around the camp. The people of this island are black: they have small canoes made of one tree, in which they go about their villages, and other very large canoes with which they go out to sea. On Sunday, the 8th of October, the Commander-in Chief ordered the Master of the Camp to be killed by stabbing, and they killed Tomas de Ampuero in the same manner, and they cut off the head of the Ensign, Juan de Buitrago, and he wished to put to death two other friends of the Master of the Camp; but he left them alone, because we entreated him to do so. The cause of this was public, because they wished to go away from the country, and abandon it, and there must have been other reasons, but I am unacquainted with them. What I saw was much dissoluteness and shamelessness, and more than enough improper conduct. On the 18th of October the Commander-in-Chief died: on the 17th there had been a total eclipse of the moon. On the 2nd of November his brother-in-law, Don Lorenzo, who had succeeded as Captain-General, died; and, seven or eight days before, the priest Antonio de Serpa; and on the 8th November the Vicar Juan de Espinosa. There was great sickness amongst our people, and as there was little care for want of an apothecary and doctor, many of them died; and they begged the lady Governor, Doña Ysabel Barreto, to take them out of the country. One and all agreed to embark; and, trusting ourselves to the mercy of God, we left this port on Saturday the 18th of the said month, in a westerly direction to the S.W. point, making for the island of St. Christopher; or, more exactly, in search of it, to see if it or the Admiral's

ship could be fallen in with, for so the lady Governor commanded. We sailed two days and saw nothing; and at the request of all the people, who cried out that we were taking them to destruction, she ordered me to shape the course from this town to Manilla, from a port in 10½°, from which I came steering to N.W. to avoid meeting islands on the way, for we were ill-prepared to go amongst them: with the crews so sick that there died whilst we were sailing some fifty persons, and there in the island forty persons, a little more or less. We made our course, short of provisions, navigating 5° S. and as many in N. latitude. We met many impediments and calms, and in fully 6° N. latitude saw an island, which seemed to have a circumference of 25 leagues, thickly wooded, and inhabited by very many people, like those of the Ladrones, for we saw them in canoes which came out to us. From the S.E. to the N. and then to S.W. it is surrounded by large reefs. On its western side, about 4 leagues off, there are some low islets; we found no place to anchor, though we tried, for the galeot and frigate which sailed with our ship had disappeared some days back. From this place we came by the said course to latitude 13¾°, and in two days that we sailed W. in this latitude we sighted Serpana and Guan in the Ladrones, and we passed between the two and did not anchor, from not having ropes to lower and recover the boat. This day was the 3rd of January of 1596, and on the 14th of the said month we saw the cape of Espiritu Santo, and on the 15th anchored in the bay of Cobos. We arrived there in such a state that only the goodness of God could bring us thither, for human strength and resources were not enough to reach to a tenth of the way. There we arrived so dismantled, and the men so thin and worn out, that it was the most pitiable sight that could be seen, with only nine or ten pitchers of water. In this bay of Cobos the ship and crew were set to rights as much as was

possible, and on Tuesday, the 2nd of February, we left that port and bay, and on the 10th of the same month we anchored in this port of Cabite.

Besides the desire which I have to serve your Honour, that which moves me to leave this brief narrative with your Honour is, that an account may remain (if perchance God should dispose of my life, or anything else should arise, or I or she that I take with me should be missing), and that it may give light, which may be a business of great service to God and to the King our sovereign. May your Honour be pleased to accept the goodwill to serve you which I retain; and if God make me return to this port there will be an opportunity to set it forth better; and at the same time will your Honour forgive my being so short, for time is in fault for being so with me. I beg you to keep it secret, for man does not know what time brings; for looking at it rightly, it is fit that the first islands should remain concealed until His Majesty be informed, and order whatever may be most for his service: for as they are placed, taking a middle position between Peru, New Spain, and this country, the English, on knowing it, might settle in them, and do much mischief in this sea. And consider me as the faithful servant of your Honour, whom may God preserve many years, with much satisfaction and increase of dignity, etc.

Your servant,

PEDRO FERNANDEZ DE QUIROS.

To the Dr. Antonio de Morga, Lieutenant-General of His Majesty in the Philippines.

NARRATIVE

OF

THE VOYAGE

OF

Pedro Fernandez de Quiros

IN 1606,

FOR THE

Discovery of the Austrial Regions.

VOYAGE

OF

PEDRO FERNANDEZ DE QUIROS.

CHAPTER I.

Of various things that happened to the Chief Pilot, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros; until he arrived at the court of the King of Spain.

HAVING sailed along the whole coast of New Spain, I arrived at the port of Payta on the 3rd of May, 1598. Thence I wrote a letter to the Viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, and travelled by land to Lima, where I arrived on the 5th of June, and was very well received by the said Viceroy. He desired to be specially informed respecting all the particulars of our voyage and discoveries, and I gave him the best account in my power. I also offered that, if he would give me a vessel of 70 tons and 40 sailors, I would return to discover those lands and many others which I suspect to exist, and even felt certain that I should find in those seas.

But in the end he came to the conclusion that he could not give me the necessary means without first consulting and receiving orders from His Majesty. He thought it would be the best plan that I should proceed in person to

the court of Spain, as the business was so serious and important, and as no one could undertake it so well as myself, who possessed such complete information. On his part, the Viceroy would help me by giving me letters of introduction to the King and to his councillors. Having received them, I embarked on board the *Capitana* at the port of Callao, on the 17th of April, 1598, under General Don Beltran de Castro y de la Cueva, arriving at Panama after a voyage of twenty-two days. Thence I went by land to Puerto Bello, where I embarked in a frigate, and in seven days arrived at Cartagena. I found this place in great confusion, because a fleet of twenty large ships had appeared before it, under the command of the English Earl of Morlant (Cumberland), who had previously taken the city of Puerto Rico. But most of this fear disappeared on the arrival of Don Luis Fajardo, knight of the order of Calatrava, and General of the fleet for guarding the Indies and the route to them.

From Cartagena I wrote to the Viceroy of Peru, in case I should die on the voyage, giving him a more detailed account of the enterprise I wished to undertake, and of what would be necessary when it should be taken in hand. Don Luis de Fajardo, having returned from Puerto Bello with the silver, I embarked on board his galleon, and we left Cartagena on the 1st of November, 1598. After twenty-seven days we anchored at Havanna, whence we sailed on the 16th of January in the following year, convoying thirty ships. Having made a good start, we encountered such a gale in 29° N. that we were in great danger of being lost. Many ships disappeared, and others, including ourselves, were obliged to return to Cartagena on Tuesday the 3rd of March. Thence I wrote to His Majesty and to the Viceroy of Peru ; but we had to winter at that port all that year until, having sent the news to His Majesty and two galleons having come for the silver,

the two Generals embarked fifteen millions on board twenty vessels. They made sail on the 4th of January and, after encountering several tempests, they sighted Cape St. Vincent, where they captured two English ships. On the 25th of February, 1600, with salutes of artillery, and amidst the music of instruments, we anchored at San Lucar.

There I embarked for Seville, where I entered the city so well fitted for giving an account of myself, as may be understood from the labours I had passed through, and the hardships I had suffered. Finding myself free from them, and considering that the year was the holy one, during which the great jubilee is celebrated at Rome, I determined to go to Rome, and pass the summer in a visit to the holy city. With this object I sold the little I possessed, bought the dress of a pilgrim, and only with the help of a pilgrim's staff I went on foot to Cartagena of the east, encountering several adventures. When the galleys of Italy arrived, I embarked in one of them, which coasted along by Valencia and Barcelona. On the 5th of August we crossed the bay of Narbonne; and soon afterwards landed at the port of Baya, which is in the territory of Genoa. Thence, dressed as a pilgrim, and accompanied by two others and a friar, we passed through all the finest cities of Italy, where there was much to see and to notice.

Finally, having reached the great city of Rome, I had the good fortune to be well received and listened to by the Lord Duke of Sesa,[1] who at that time held the office of Ambassador from Spain at that court. To him I gave an

[1] Don Antonio de Cardona y Cordova, sixth Duke of Sesa, was descended from the Great Captain. He was son of Don Fernando de Cordova y Requesens, second Duke of Soma, by Doña Beatriz de Figueroa. He became Duke of Sesa by renunciation of his aunt, Francesca de Cordova, and succeeded an elder brother as Duke of Soma. He was also Duke of Baena. The Duke of Sesa died at Valladolid on January 6th, 1606.

account of the lands that had been discovered, and of my desire to return to them; and submitted that it would be right for His Holiness to favour the enterprise. I addressed myself chiefly to the importance of saving an infinity of souls, such as exist in that new world. It seemed good to His Excellency, and he called together a meeting in his house of the best pilots and mathematicians to be found in Rome. Having made a detailed examination of my papers and charts in his presence, they came to the conclusion that all I had said was probable, and worthy to be put into execution.

The Lord Duke then arranged for me an interview with His Holiness Clement VIII, which took place on the 28th of August, I having first dined at the table of the poor. His Holiness heard me very attentively, saw all the papers I showed him, and approved of my zeal and veracity. He encouraged me to persevere in my laudable intentions, and conceded many graces and indulgences for the time when I should begin the voyage. He gave me letters to the Majesty of the King our Lord, to whom also the Lord Duke of Sesa wrote letters of recommendation; and he also gave me letters to other princes and councillors of the court of Spain, with the means of proceeding thither. Having gained the holy jubilee, and beheld many things which were worthy of note, including the canonization of the glorious St. Raymond, I was still detained in Rome much longer than I expected, for the completion of the letters and indulgences already mentioned, and that His Holiness might show me favour by giving me some rosaries that had been blessed, and a piece of the wood of the Cross. About this there was great difficulty.

At length, these and others having been overcome, the day arrived for my departure from Rome, which was the afternoon of Holy Wednesday of the year 1602. Having visited the holy dwelling of Our Lady of Loreto and passed

through the cities of Arimino,[1] Forli, Ferrara, and Lodi, in which I found much to see and take note of, and where I met with various and notable adventures, I entered the city of Milan, which contains so many grand and admirable buildings, that to treat of them briefly would be to do them injustice. I passed by Pavia and Tortona, and went thence to sleep at the town of San Estevan, the first place in the territory of Genoa. Then I entered Genoa at so fortunate a time that on the second day I was able to embark on board one of the six galleys of Prince Doria, who was sent with his nephew to congratulate His Majesty on the birth of a princess. We arrived at Barcelona, where I went to Montserrat, and, passing through other cities of Spain, I entered Madrid on the octave of Corpus Christi of the same year, 1602. The court not being there, having moved to Valladolid, I went to the famous convent of the Escurial, where I had notice that His Majesty then was, with whom I might speak, and kiss his royal hands, and give him my memorial respecting my pretensions, on Monday, the 17th of June of the said year.

CHAPTER II.

Of what happened to the Captain Pedro Fernandez de Quiros at the court of Spain; negotiating for leave from His Majesty to discover and settle the southern parts; how, and in what form, the business was negotiated; and his voyage to Peru.

HAVING spoken to His Majesty, and placed my first memorial in his hands, in which I declared my plan and its importance, he heard me with his accustomed clemency and benignity, and replied that he would order the matter to be seen to. Presently I went to speak with Don Juan

[1] Rimini.

Idiaquez, with the Father Confessor, with Don Pedro Franqueza, and with other Members of the Council of State, and important persons about the court, who might be able to help in despatching my business. To these I gave the letters I brought from the Viceroy of Peru and the Ambassador at Rome; and I showed to them the letters of His Holiness, and the other papers and charts relating to my discovery.

Some received me well, holding the affair to be serious and worthy of support. Others thought little of it or of me, thinking that I promised more than I could perform, and that for the performance of so great a deed, a person of more parts and valour was needed. Some answered me that sufficient lands had been discovered for His Majesty, and that what signified was to people and settle them, rather than go in search of those I said were new, which were so distant that they would be difficult and costly to maintain, after they had been conquered and settled. There were not wanting those who threw doubts on the utility of such conquests. So that I was forced to be more importunate to His Majesty, submitting new memorials every day, representing the arguments in favour of the enterprise, and endeavouring to satisfy those who opposed me. During this time I had much trouble at court, and I made a long discourse on the life passed by those who had business to prosecute there. I had different replies, some sharp, and others gentle, like those from Don Pedro Franqueza and others of the Council of State.

At last, on the last day of Easter, in the year 1603, I was sent for by Don Pedro Franqueza, who told me that my business was despatched; and he took me to the Chief Secretary, named Matienzo, and said that, as he valued his regard, he was not to delay me on any point. So on Saturday, the 5th of April, they delivered to me some orders of His Majesty which contained my despatch, and

which had been passed by the Council of State. Their tenor is as follows:—

Copy of the Order of His Majesty touching the Principal Despatch.

To Don Luis de Velasco or the Count of Monterey, my relation, my Viceroy and Captain General in my kingdoms and provinces of Peru, or such other person as may be governing in my name, at the time of the delivery of this order.

There has come here from Rome the Captain Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, a Portuguese; and the Duke of Sesa and of Baena, of my Council of State and my Ambassador at that Court, wrote to me that in the holy year he had news from Friar Diego de Soria, Prior at Manilla of the Order of San Domingo, that there would be found at that court the said Captain Quiros, who was a great pilot with much experience of the South Sea and of the great gulf between the coasts of New Spain and Peru and Japan and the Philippine Islands, having been Chief Pilot of the second discovery made by the Adelantado Alvaro de Mendaña. The said Father represented that it would be much for the service of God and for mine to introduce him, that he might again return to discover these unknown parts and islands. So the Duke sent for him to his house to ask him concerning curious things relating to his art; and entertained him there for near seventeen months, during which time he opened his mind, and showed many papers he possessed, and drew up others which he communicated to Father Clavio and other mathematicians and distinguished geographers. All were persuaded, by the proofs and reasonings he submitted to them, that there could not fail to be either a continental land or a number of islands from the Strait of Magellan to New Guinea and Java and the other islands of that great archipelago. And they concluded that, enjoying the best part of the torrid and temperate zones, where it has been seen, as well in the ancient provinces of the world as in the new discoveries, that much and very good and rich land exists which has a temperate and therefore a habitable climate. They are, therefore, of opinion that it is very desirable to lose no time in discovering that southern region, unknown until now, which will be a great service to God.

Besides the interest and advantages that this discovery promises, it will be easier to explore the southern region than it was to find the Western Indies. When the said Captain returned from that long navigation, including detentions in various parts, lasting for two years, he offered to Don Luis de Velasco, my Viceroy of Peru and your predecessor, to return in the same ship in which he had come, to that discovery, if it should prove necessary, as far as New Guinea and the Moluccas, and to return to Peru by way of the

Philippines, with a full account of all he had discovered. But though it seemed well to the Viceroy he did not act, but gave the Captain letters to me and to His Holiness, who has heard and spoken with him. His Holiness was pleased with his proposals, insomuch that he has conceded many spiritual gifts for those parts (if I order the voyage to be undertaken), for the reasonings of the said Captain satisfied him. The Duke has given me a good account of his parts, good judgment, experience in his profession; and has assured me that he is a worker, quiet, disinterested, of decent life, zealous for the service of God and for my service. As regards the theory (according to what the mathematicians at Rome affirm) they say that there are few pilots who know as much as he does; that he is expert in making globes, and charts for navigating; that he well understands the use of instruments necessary for navigation, and that he showed them two of his own invention, one by which to know, in navigating, the difference made by the needle between the N.E. and N.W. points, and the other for taking an altitude with more ease and accuracy. Both were commended by the Fathers Clavio and Villalpando of the Company of Jesus, and by the Doctors Toribio Perez and Masa, who have lectured publicly in mathematics at Salamanca, as well as by distinguished geographers. Captain Quiros had made an offer to the Duke that, I being served by it, he would go from Spain by the Strait of Magellan and return by the Eastern Indies, having gone round the world, using, by sea and land, the instruments he had made, and that he would make quite clear the true differences made by the needle in variation: a matter which up to the present time is very obscure, and respecting which there are many different opinions. The discovery of the truth will be of great advantage to navigation, in giving a knowledge of the true latitude and longitude of places, ports, and capes discovered, or which may be discovered in various voyages.

In conformity with what has been reported, the said Captain Quiros has related to me all that he has told to others respecting the navigations and discoveries; proving his statements by writings and maps of the islands he discovered, when he served as Chief Pilot under the said Adelantado, Alvaro de Mendaña, describing the diversity of people shown by their different colours, yet appearing to be docile, and the fertility of the islands which promised wealth. He prayed that, taking into consideration his zeal, and that his ends and objects being the service of God and my service, and the conversion of these people to our holy faith, and the good that might accrue from the discoveries (without reference to his interests), and besides all this the way in which the navigation of these wide seas would be facilitated through the great practice and experience he has of them, I would be served by ordering that a ship, not very large, should be provided with crew, provisions, munitions, and other things necessary for the

said navigation and enterprise; and that matters should be arranged in a manner that would enable him to accomplish what he wishes to undertake. Having considered his proposal, with the attention that so serious a matter requires, for the increase of the faith and the benefit of the souls of those remote people, and placing the service of God before all things, as is reasonable, after consulting my Council of State, I have resolved :—

That the said Captain Quiros shall presently depart to make this discovery, in the first fleet for Peru; and I ordain and command that on his arrival you are to give him two very good ships with which he will be satisfied, to fit them out and provide them with the number of people necessary, well victualled, and supplied with munitions and arms requisite for so long a voyage. The ships are also to be supplied with things for bartering with natives, if they should reach places where this can be done, in conformity with the general orders which you and your predecessors have for similar discoveries, and with all that seems most conducive to my service. The cost of the preparations, of the people who will be embarked, of the provisions, munitions, clothing, and other things necessary for the voyage, is to be defrayed from my royal revenues, and from those which are most readily available. You are to give orders that some bare-foot friars, of the Order of St. Francis, exemplary and of good life, are taken; and you are to see that the people who are embarked in the said ships are good and useful, ordering them to obey and respect the said Captain during the voyage out and home, as their leader and superior, whom I name for that position from this time, obeying him in all things.

Take notice that it is my will that the said Captain Quiros is presently to make this voyage and discovery without delay; and so I charge and order you very positively to comply promptly with my orders, without interposing doubts or difficulties, notwithstanding that this order does not come through my Council of the Indies. The business being peculiar, I have arranged and I shall be served by its coming through the Council of State, and in this I must receive precise service from you. By the first ship you are to report the arrival of the said Captain Quiros in those my kingdoms, and how you have furnished him with the said two ships, and provided him with all that is necessary. For I shall look out, with much anxiety, for the news of compliance with my orders. And to such of my officials or accountants as have the duty of keeping the accounts respecting what is contained in my royal letter, I order and command that they receive and pass the expenditure which you sanction out of my royal revenues, with your orders or letters of payment without seeking any other authority; for I approve it, from this time as well and properly spent and paid, and this shall be their authority. In Valladolid, 31st of March, 1603.

Copies of two other Royal Orders.

To Don Luis de Velasco, or the Count of Monterey, my cousin, my Viceroy and Captain-General in my kingdoms and provinces of Peru, or whomsoever shall be governing the said kingdoms in my name at the time that this Order is presented. Although in another separate letter I have caused to be written to you very specially the reasons which have moved me to resolve to send the Captain Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, a Portuguese by nation, who will deliver this, to proceed with two ships well supplied with men, victuals, munitions, and artillery, to discover the southern islands and lands as far as New Guinea and Java Major, in this I desire to repeat those orders, as I do very particularly, that, without hindrance by difficulties or other causes, you are to further my service by sending the said Captain Quiros, with as much despatch as possible, with the said two ships, so that my orders may be complied with quickly; and I trust to you that you will do your part in providing the two ships, in obedience to my commands. For besides that it is furthering my service, I take a particular inclination and pleasure in the discovery that is to be undertaken, for the increase, which is to be hoped from it, of our holy faith among those remote people, for the glory of God and the public benefit, which is the object I have before me. You are to advise me, by the first opportunity, of what steps you have taken, for I shall await the news with the desire for it that you should understand. From Valladolid, the 31st of March, 1603.

The King.

To whomsoever my Viceroys, Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, Captains-General, Adelantados, and Admirals of my armies and fleets by land and sea in the eastern and western Indies, the Philippine and other islands, and coast of Africa, and to all my Ministers of Justice and War, of whatsoever title, quality, nation or condition they may be, to whom this my royal order may be presented. Forasmuch as I have ordered the Captain Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, a Portuguese by nation, to proceed to the city of Lima in Peru, and with two ships, well supplied with men, victuals, and munitions of war, to proceed thence to discover New Guinea, Java Major, and other southern lands and islands, returning by that part of the world to these my kingdoms of Spain, to deliver and account to me of what he had seen and discovered, and of the observations he will have made by land and sea during his navigation, in conformity with the orders he has received. I hereby order and command you, that in whatever part of the said my kingdoms and states the said Captain, or the officers and sailors who go with him, may arrive with the said two ships or any one of them, or with any other vessel, you shall receive,

protect, and succour the said Captain and his people in my ports and lands, and provide them with whatever is necessary to complete the said voyage without delay; and you are to assist them to obtain whatever they may require, and he may ask for, as he is my servant and Captain, going expressly to carry out my orders; and you are not to interpose any impediments or difficulties, but rather you are to extend to him favour and help, if you desire or seek my approval. For this proceeds from my will, and is very conformable to my royal service. At Valladolid, March 31st, 1603.

These orders were accompanied by many letters, which were given to me at court by some great lords, for the Viceroy of Peru. Having communicated the letters of His Holiness to the Royal Council of the Indies, the Count of Lemos, who was President of that Council, and the other members of it, desired that I should explain to them my objects and intentions, and they ordered that I should bring them a map. I went to give this account in a garden of the court, where the other members assembled to hear me. Having listened to what I told them, they were satisfied, and rather envious that my despatch should have been arranged by the Council of State. But I was not yet contented, on seeing that, in the orders that had been prepared, a special clause had not been inserted that, in the event of my failure or death, I might nominate another person to carry on and complete the discovery. So I represented that an order should be given to me, with this provision; and, after some trouble, I succeeded. The additional order is as follows:—

The King.

To Don Luis de Velasco or the Count of Monterey, my cousin, my Viceroy and Captain-General in my kingdoms and provinces of Peru, or whomsoever may be governing in my name at the time that this order is presented. The Captain Pedro Fernandez de Quiros who, by my order, proceeds to make discoveries in the unknown parts of the south and others (as is contained in more detail in the despatches which I have ordered to be sent to you), has besought me, in order to make more sure of the success of the

enterprise that, if he should fail through sickness, accident, or death, that as great a success as is expected from the said discovery for the service of God and of our Holy Faith may not be lost, I shall be served by ordering that, in the said event, you shall nominate a person equally able and sufficient for the duty, in order that with the said despatches and papers and writings that he may have left, concerning what he had seen and what he hoped to discover, such a person may continue the said discovery. And as what he asks is a testimony of his zeal in the service of God, in my service, and in that of Christianity, I order and specially charge you that if our Lord should be served by the failure of the said Captain Quiros, or if he should not be able to go on the said voyage, with the papers and memorial that he will leave to explain and throw light on his intentions, you shall nominate the most suitable person you can find to take his place and carry out this great undertaking. And to him who may be selected you are to give all the assistance and help he needs, in the form indicated in the previous orders; and this is my will, and is conformable to my service. At Aranjuez, May 9th, 1603.

With this I set out on the road to Seville, and found the fleet for New Spain ready to sail. I at once applied to the House of Commerce for my despatch; and, though there were some difficulties to overcome, in the night of the eve of St. John I went on board a brigantine, and proceeded down the river of Seville. But when I reached the bay of Cadiz I found that the fleet had already sailed, consisting of thirty ships, and in the fleet was the Marquis of Montes Claros, going out as Viceroy of New Spain. I had to do what I could, and in great haste. So I took a passage in a frigate, commanded by Captain Diego Ramirez, going to Tierra-firme under convoy of the fleet. After a good voyage we sighted the island of Marigalanta on the 1st of August; and on the next day, which was that of a Franciscan festival called "Porciuncula," we came into the port of Guadaloupe, when the Viceroy and Vice-queen landed to hear Mass. At dinner-time the persons of most consequence went on board again; but a great many remained on shore, wandering about or washing clothes. They were suddenly attacked by the natives of that island,

who fell upon them with great shouting and flights of arrows. It seemed certain that they would be captured, killed, or wounded, and, in consequence, upwards of sixty persons were drowned, seven of whom were Dominican friars. This caused great sorrow and perturbation throughout the fleet, and was a prognostication of what was afterwards to happen. For that night there rose a wind from the S.S.W., which was nearly abeam ; and as the ships were near the shore and close to each other, they were all in great danger, especially the *Capitana*, for another ship, named the *Pandorga*, came into collision with her, and both were in danger of being lost. It was necessary for the Viceroy and the Vice-queen, almost naked, to pass to another ship. They left behind much property that was coming with them ; and the ships were ordered to be burnt, that they might not fall into the hands of enemies. The other ships put to sea as well as they were able, and proceeded on their voyage, and our frigate on hers, making for the island called Curaçoa. The frigate's voyage was so unlucky that, on the vespers of St. Lawrence, she struck and went to pieces on some rocks, which we afterwards learned were those off the island called "Aves." We found ourselves in great trouble, but by the mercy of God most of the people were saved, being taken in the boat to those rocks. With the same boat what was possible of the ship's gear was got on land, with which we set to work, until the diligent Captain ordered the boat to be sawn in two, and a small vessel to be built of the materials, which was launched in the end of August. He said that he was determined to send her with all the passengers, and me as their leader, to the port of Guayra, of the city of Caraccas, to bring back provisions for those who remained, with some vessel in which the whole party could escape from that dangerous prison into which God had put them. I do not know whether it was worse for those who remained behind, or for

those who went in the vessel. But by the favour of God, having passed through great hardships, I arrived at Caraccas, and gave an account of what had happened to the Governor, who supplied me with what was necessary, and I returned with the refreshments to my unhappy companions who, with penitence and prayers, besought God for my return. They had been on an allowance of only two ounces of bread for ten days. Having brought the relief and almost made another frigate, I said to the Captain that it was only fair that I should continue my voyage. So I took my leave, and embarked, with certain persons returning to Caraccas, where I remained for eight months, waiting for a passage. I noted and wrote in much detail the things I observed concerning that island.[1] By great good luck I found there three children of a brother of mine, of whom I had not heard for many years. It appeared that he had married there and died, leaving a widow and these three children. It seemed to me right that I should take them out of such a bad country, and bring them with me. I got leave from the grandfather, for the widow was also dead, and I took the two boys,[2] leaving the little girl with her grandfather.

At last the time for my long desired departure arrived, and I embarked for Cartagena in a frigate. There I presented to the Governor the order of His Majesty, in which all his officers are instructed to help me; but he made little account either of the order or of assisting me. As soon as I could I again embarked for Puerto Bello, and

[1] He forgets that Caraccas is on the main land.

[2] One of these nephews was no doubt the Lucas de Quiros who was appointed Royal Ensign by his uncle on May 13th, 1606, at the bay of St. Philip and St. James. Zaragoza mentions that, in 1616, Lucas de Quiros was acquiring a certain reputation at Lima as a cosmographer (IV, *Apuntes Biograficas*, p. 139). He constructed a map of the western side of South America, from Carthagena to Magellan's Strait, by order of the Viceroy, Prince of Esquilache, on parchment (see Duro *Arca de Noe*, p. 560).

arrived at Panama so poor that for the space of eight days I had not one rial. I arrived, owing for the hire of the mules and many other things. So I determined to apply to the Audience of that city to present me with 200 dols. from the treasury, or I should have to seek it at a loss from merchants, to be repaid at Lima. But the judges made as little of me as of the royal orders which I presented, saying that that was no place for advances from the public funds. So I had to retire to my poor lodging, where I was sued by the muleteer and other creditors.

In the middle of these troubles, on Monday, the 30th of August, the most Holy Sacrament went forth from its house to the hospital, which was built of old wood. Ascending to the upper story, as the weight of the people was great, a large part of the building gave way, and we fell, sixty of us, with the beds and patients, a height of more than twenty feet. There were many accidents. A priest was killed on the spot, and there were broken limbs. I escaped with what I got, which was a severe blow on the left side, a wound on the right ankle, and a hand cut open by a nail. My cure cost me four bleedings and two months and a-half in bed, without possessing a single maravedi during the whole time, and in a very expensive place. Only by a miracle I found anyone to take pity on me in my necessity.

When barely convalescent, I was able to embark in a ship bound for Peru, without a bit of bread or a jar of water. God favoured me with such a good voyage that in twenty days we anchored at Payta, and I sent a letter by the *chasqui* to the Count of Monterey, who had arrived as Viceroy of that kingdom from New Spain. Embarking again, God was served that in eighteen days I should arrive at the port of Callao, where I disembarked on the 6th of March, 1605, with debts for the passage and food, and with no money. I hired horses from one I had known before,

and entered Lima by night. I went round without being able to find any hostelry, until God led me to a potter who, for that night and for three other nights, hospitably received me with goodwill among his pots; so that I am able to say with good reason that I arrived at Lima weighted down with so many old labours to make a beginning with new ones, in the way that will be seen by what follows.

CHAPTER III.

Of what more happened in the city of the Kings and in its port of Callao, to the Captain Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, until his despatch took effect, and he embarked for the new discovery.

AFTER I had arrived at the city of the Kings, three days passed without being able to obtain admission to or audience with the Viceroy, to explain to him my plans, and inform him respecting the orders of His Majesty. I spoke with him for the first time on Friday, the 11th of March, and, having seen the royal order, he appointed an audience on the 25th of the same month, which he gave me. He had ordered to be present two judges, two religious persons of the Company of Jesus, the General of Callao, Don Lope de Ulloa, the Captain of the Guard, and a secretary.

The Viceroy ordered me to read certain papers referring to the business, and to explain everything. He had a general chart spread out on a buffet, with which he satisfied himself when I answered the questions they asked me. Although, in the course of the discussion, the Viceroy said that it appeared more convenient to him to make the voyage from Manilla, where the expedition could be fitted out at less cost than would be incurred in the purchase of two ships at Lima, I answered that the royal order

expressly commanded that the expedition should start from Lima and not from the Philippines, and that the contrary winds would be against all successful navigation. I added that there was a want of sailors and soldiers at Manilla. There were those at the audience to whom my remarks seemed to be just. Don Juan de Villela, one of the judges, was strongly in favour of the expedition; also the Father Francisco Coello, who had been "Alcalde" of the Court of Justice and Assessor to the late Viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco. They were present when I gave an account of my navigation and my plans on the first occasion; so that they were witnesses brought by God to prove the truths of which I treated. The Viceroy showed himself to be satisfied with my arguments, and of the importance and grandeur of the proposed discovery. Yet, owing to his bad health and many occupations, and to the difficulties which always arise in business of this kind that has to pass through many hands, the despatch could not be proceeded with as quickly as was necessary, and as I desired. If the day of St. Francis should pass, the best time of the year would be lost for making sail and shaping a S.W. course. So that I was forced to continue my memorials to the Viceroy, and to set forth all the details I deemed necessary to arm, equip, and provision the ships for so long a voyage. I found more opposers than helpers. Don Fernando de Castro, husband of my former Governess, Doña Isabel Barreto, who, with all her household, had come to live in Peru, opposed my undertaking as trenching on the Solomon Islands, which he inherited through his wife, who was the widow of their discoverer, the Adelantado Alvaro de Mendaña. But the good cavalier was convinced by my pious reasoning, and he said that, as he understood it, he would condemn the soul who pretended to disturb me.

The Doctor Arias Ugarte, a Judge of the Royal Audi-

ence, learning in what poverty and discomfort I lived, invited me to his house and table: an offer such as a brother might make, or one friend to another. Seeing that my wish differed from his, he wanted to make me accept a great dish full of dollars, almost by force. I gave him thanks, and said that it did not seem right for one serving His Majesty in a great undertaking to be sustained by alms. At length, after many memorials and much worry, I induced the Viceroy to nominate commissaries whose duty it was to see that the most necessary things were provided for my despatch. Those matters relating to the sea were under the superintendence of the Admiral, Juan Colmanero de Andrada, who was not well disposed towards me. This was the reason that I had to return to the Viceroy with complaints and importunities, in which he honoured and favoured me. One day he said to me that, by virtue of the royal order I had shown him, he wished to name a person to go in my company, who was to take my place and office in the event of my death. I answered that I did not wish to take with me any one who would know that he was to succeed me, for that was an arrangement fraught with obvious danger. In the order His Majesty allowed that I myself made the proposal, with the object that if I should die before I reached Lima, or before I left the port, the enterprise should continue in being. But at present I was strong and well; so I begged him to suspend this business until it was seen what God ordained; and that he would leave it in my charge; so that when it appeared necessary I could select such a person as time had shown to merit the charge of so serious an enterprise.

In this position the matter rested, and my despatch proceeded, though with slow steps. As the time for starting approached, it was represented that the pay should be in advance, and the persons who raised the question claimed that it should be given on board the ships, or with

good securities. I succeeded in satisfying them, saying that, as His Majesty had entrusted to me and to them a business of such importance, it was not just to proceed in all things with such limitation.

Having settled this, I took steps for my people to receive the jubilee which had been conceded by His Holiness, and that a special festival should be held for them in the convent of St. Francis of the port of Callao, where were the six friars who were to go in our ships. The standards and banners were to be blessed, and we were to come forth with all our people in procession, in the clothes of sackcloth which almost all had made for the occasion. But the envy which is so powerful put a stop to this laudable intention, and there were not wanting those who opposed the blessing and raising of the standard, as if the undertaking was not for the service of His Majesty. However, all the people confessed and took the sacrament. The standards and banners were embarked, rolled up on their staves; and I, with other persons of the fleet, went to seek for the six friars. These, accompanied by many others of their Order, and by their guardian and commissary, came forth from their convent, and were lovingly embraced by many people, for always at such partings many tears are shed. We all went on board together, with the Admiral and other royal officers. When the inspection was made, there was not a single man missing who had received pay, and not counting those, there were twenty-two. One day before, I had been to Lima to take leave of the Viceroy, having with me the two captains of the other two ships. I asked him to pardon me for having been so pressing, for it had been necessary to make a finish of my despatch. The Viceroy answered that, on the contrary, he was much pleased, and he embraced me, and afterwards the other two captains: saying that, owing to his serious indisposition, he was unable to go to the port to see us start, as he

desired, but that he would write a letter to all the people of the expedition, which was to be read publicly before making sail, as was done. Its tenor was as follows :—

Letter of the Viceroy, Count of Monterey.

Illness will not allow me to honour and favour with my presence your departure from the port, and the commencement of your navigation. As I am unable to say to you what is desirable in words, I have decided to do so by a letter.

I feel very sure that, in general, you have understood the lofty aims for the service of God our Lord which has moved his royal Majesty to undertake this discovery with great cost to his treasury; and what mighty interests may result from the enterprise to the church of God, by the saving of many souls, and to the crown of Spain by the increase of its dominions. So I trust that you will keep the one and the other object present to your minds, being the principal reasons which also moved us to the undertaking.

I desire to charge you to maintain peace and obedience from subordinates to their officers, and from all to the Captain Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, who has been ordered by His Majesty to make this voyage. And I charge you to keep in memory that he represents in his person the Viceroy himself, as if I myself was on board, and as if I gave the orders that he will give; showing that, in the discipline and obedience that you must exercise on all occasions, you signally display your loyalty as good vassals to His Majesty. He who falls away from this shall be severely judged by the councillors of His Majesty, or the royal ministers where the matter is reported, and especially by me in cases that come before me. May God guide you and send you forth to do His will. Given on December 20th, 1605.

As soon as the letter was read, the ships being ready, the various banners were displayed from the mastheads and tops, and the royal standard was hoisted, the yards were raised, and the anchors got up in the name of the most holy Trinity. The sails were set, and the men on their knees prayed for a good voyage to our Lady of Loreto, saying that this fleet is dedicated to her name, and sails trusting in her favour and protection. All the artillery, muskets, and arquebuses were fired off. The ships passed near the other royal ships, which were saluting with their pieces, with many people on their decks and

galleries, and many more in the town, on balconies and roofs, and on the beach, watching attentively as we left the port. It was the day of St. Thomas the Apostle, Wednesday, at three in the afternoon, the 21st of December, 1605, the sun being in the last degree of Sagittarius.

In this manner the three ships departed. The *Capitana* was named *San Pedro y San Pablo.* She was bought from Sebastian de Goite y Figueroa, and was well adapted for such service. The other vessel, as *Almiranta*, was rather small, and was also purchased for His Majesty in the port of Callao. The third was a launch, or *zabra*, of small size, which had lately arrived from the Galapagos Islands, to rescue the people who had been wrecked there. She was very strong and a good sailer. In all three were embarked nearly three hundred men, sailors and soldiers, with some small pieces of artillery, arquebuses and muskets, provisions of all kinds for one year, iron implements, fruits and animals of Peru for those who should form a settlement, and the said six friars of the Order of St. Francis, also four brothers of Juan de Dios to cure the sick. As Chief Pilot there came one against my will, whom they made me receive, as he had taken the Count of Monterey from New Spain. He did me much injury.[1] The second Pilot was called the Captain Pedro Bernal Cermeño, to whom I delivered the charge and command of the launch.

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[1] His name was Juan Ochoa de Bilboa.

CHAPTER IV.

How the Captain, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, having left the port of Callao with his fleet, navigated from the coast of Peru, and his instructions to the pilots, sailors and soldiers that they might know how to govern themselves.

COMMENCING to leave the port of Callao, the prows of the three ships were pointed in the direction of their destination. The sun went down. The *Almiranta* asked for her name. She was given the name of *San Pedro*, patron of the same ship, and of the cause. They sailed with the wind S.S.E., so prevalent on that coast, thence to E.S.E., and as we went on the wind passed from point to point until it was due east, where it remained for many days, blowing gently. It seems that the lofty cordillera of Peru, running north and south, impedes the wind from blowing east until a good offing is gained, when it is the ordinary wind.

The Captain, during the three first days, made entries in his journal, but presently his health failed him. For he took such a headache from Lima that he could suffer neither sun nor shade, and could expose it neither bare nor covered. On this malady there came a spasm which caused him much suffering, and, as was afterwards supposed, he was cured by this reversed attack, though none of these changes sufficed to finish him. For whom God wishes will live. The three eves and days of Christmas, Circumcision, and Epiphany, were celebrated with great festivity; and at the Conversion of St. Paul, the Captain, not having been able to do so before, issued the following instructions to the people of his ship, and to those of the other two ships of his fleet, judging them to be very necessary.

Instructions.

Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, Captain and Chief of the three vessels of the fleet, of which he has command, to discover the unknown southern regions for His Majesty.

As it is agreeable to the service of God our Lord, and to that of the King of Spain, Philip, third of that name, whose is this fleet, and whose vassal I am, and in whose name I go on this service; and as it is conducive to good government that the Captains should have rules to keep respecting the voyage that has to be made, and other work that has to be done, if by chance, owing to a tempest or other legitimate cause, they should part company from me, they should be given instructions and notices that they may follow and carry out the orders with regard to the charge with which they are entrusted. I, therefore, give to Luis Vaez de Torres, Admiral of the ship called *San Pedro*, the orders as follows:—

I specially charge the said Admiral that he is to maintain Christian, political, and military discipline among the men of his ship.

Further, I charge him to see that they do not curse nor blaspheme, nor say or do other things evil against God our Lord, nor against the most holy Mother, nor against angels, saints, or things divine or sacred; and if perchance (which may God not permit) there are some so wicked as to dare to utter such blasphemies, he is to punish them severely and rigorously as their crimes deserve.

Further, I charge him not to consent to any playings with dice or cards, either for small or great stakes; and if by chance there should be any playing cards found in his ship, or dice (except for playing at backgammon), he is to throw them overboard as a thing very prejudicial to the objects of the voyage; and if the games at tables cause disputes and trouble, they are also to be thrown overboard, so as to avoid all occasion for mischief.

He is to take great care that every day, in the afternoon, all the people go on their knees before an altar where there are images of Christ and of the Virgin Mary, and that the Litany of Our Lady of Loreto is recited, praying for her favour and for her intercession, that God our Lord may guide us and show us the lands and people we seek, and help us in all that undertaking on which we are employed, and grant us that success which will be to His honour and glory and for the good of so many of His creatures.

Further, I charge him that he forbids and by all means prevents any one from taking God's name in vain, the person so offending forfeiting his ration for that day, and if he has already had it, for the next day; and the same punishment is to be inflicted on such persons as may give him to eat, even if they are his own messmates. If the blasphemer repents his fault, he may be pardoned

the first time, but for the second, third, or other times he may be put in irons, or fined for the benefit of souls in purgatory; and this may not be remitted. And that this may be known to all, a copy of this chapter is to be nailed to the ship's main mast.

Further, he is to be very vigilant in preventing free or disrespectful words being spoken of the royal person or his service: and those who so offend are to be punished promptly and with rigour, always justifying what is inflicted for this or other offences.

Further, he is to take care and use much diligence in treating kindly and lovingly all the people under his charge, and to honour and maintain each one of his officers in the posts they occupy, and to cause them to be respected and to respect each other. In short, he is to acquire those methods and habits which are necessary to keep his people contented and firm in their love, truthfulness, fidelity, and loyalty, remembering how worthy of esteem that Captain is who, without the use of knife or other rigour, governs his people in peace.

Further, he is to look after the Master of the Ship with vigilance, who is to see that the provisions do not turn bad and are not wasted; and that those respecting which there is a suspicion that they may turn bad are used first.

The ration to be served out each day to each person on board, whether receiving wages or not, is 1½ lbs. of biscuit, 1 lb. of meat, 2 oz. of bacon, 1 oz. of pulses, half a gallon of water for drinking, and sufficient for cooking. On fish days the ration is to be one fish or (if it is large) part of one, 6 oz. of pulses, a measure of oil, another of vinegar; biscuit and water as on meat days. If there is no fish, 4 oz. of cheese is to be substituted. As regards extras, what appears most convenient is to be done, always seeing that there is no pretext for complaints, and considering that there is much time and a long voyage before us.

He is to be very diligent, both by day and night, in following the *Capitana* ship, which will shape a W.S.W. course until the latitude of 30° is reached; and when that is reached and no land has been seen, the course will be altered to N.W. until the latitude of 10° 15′; and if no land has yet been found, a course will be followed on that parallel to the west, in search of the island of Santa Cruz. There a port will be sought in the bay of Graciosa, in 10° of latitude, and 1,850 leagues from the city of the Kings, to the south of a great and lofty volcano, standing alone in the sea, about 8 leagues from the said bay. The Captain who arrives first in this port, which is at the head of the bay, between a spring of water and a moderate-sized river, with bottom from 40 to 35 fathoms, is to anchor there, and wait there three months for the other two ships. When together, a resolution will be taken as to what further shall be done, in compliance with His Majesty's orders. If by chance the other ships do not arrive, the Captain,

before he departs, is to raise a cross, and at the foot of it, or of the nearest tree, he is to make a sign on the trunk, to be understood by him who next arrives, and to bury a jar with the mouth closed with tar, and containing a narrative of all that has happened and of his intentions. Then he will steer S.W. as far as 20°, thence N.W. to 4°, and on that parallel he is to steer west in search of New Guinea. After coasting all along that land, he is to proceed to the city of Manilla, in the island of Luzon of the Philippines, in 14° N., thence by the eastern Indies to Spain, to give an account to His Majesty of all that has been discovered.

Further, he is to be diligent in taking the sun daily, and at night the star *Crucero*, or at least whenever the weather admits of it, that he may know his latitude and plot it on his chart, making allowances for lee-way, caused by winds or currents, and for the variation of the needle; and for greater accuracy, he shall take care to correct it by the sun, or by a known star when on the meridian. He is also to be careful to note the number of leagues made by the ship each day, the winds and the changes, the showers, currents, flights of birds, shoals of fishes, and signs of land, with its appearance when sighted. Also, he is to note the islands, whether inhabited or uninhabited, and place them on the chart in their latitude, longitude, and form. If it is continental land, he is to do the same as regards ports, capes, anchorages, and all other features; writing descriptions of the positions of each feature, of the rivers and places where wood and water can be obtained, as well as the rocks and reefs that are met with. If the bottom is sand, it is to be denoted by dots of ink, if of rocks by small crosses. Besides these details, the colour, shape, features, and dress of the inhabitants are to be noted, their food, arms, boats, behaviour, and government and religion; so that a full and detailed account can be given to the King our Lord in his Council of State, from whence the orders for the voyage were issued.

Every day he will come up to this *Capitana*, as is the custom, to give his respects and wish for a good voyage; and to ask for the word, which will be answered and given in the customary way.

He is to take care that, at sunrise and sunset, and oftener if it seems desirable, two men go to the masthead to look out over all parts of the horizon; and at night the sentries are to be doubled, one being on the bowsprit. The rounds and over-rounds are to be gone by him in person, and when he is not able, he is to delegate the duty to others in whom he has confidence. In this he is to be punctual, and rigorous in punishing those he finds not keeping a good look-out, or sleeping. In taking in sail, when the weather is threatening, there must be no negligence.

When the *Capitana* puts out a flag from the main topmast, it is

a signal to the pilots for the ships to close. The ships shall then come near the *Capitana* to receive orders.

If the *Capitana* should alter course during the night, a gun will be fired, if it is desired to give notice that land is sighted, or that there are rocks, two guns will be fired. The other two ships will do the same, and all three will repeat, to show that the signal is understood.

If by day it is necessary to communicate, a flag is to be shown on the main rigging, so that it may be seen by the other two ships, and presently they will close, to learn what is wanted. If it is night, two lights are to be shown, besides the stern lantern, as a signal that help is needed, which presently will be given.

Great precautions are to be taken against fire. There is to be no lighted candle nor other fire between decks, except within a lantern in charge of a man to watch it. And this duty is not to be given to any person unless he can be trusted.

Much care is to be taken that there is no waste in cord, powder, or balls; and attention is to be given to all the royal stores that there may be no fraud whatever in their expenditure.

If there is both wind and sea, and both suddenly cease, being night time, heave to and sound, and keep a good look-out, as the cause may be the interposition of land close to.

If there are puffs and flaws of wind besides the wind that fills the sails, or the ship raises her head and stern as if she was being pushed, it being night time, take soundings, for she may be very near the land or rocks, where the sea breaks and sends back the surf.

If, the sky being clear, the sun, moon, and stars come out and are higher than the horizon, it is a certain sign of land; at night heave to and sound, at daytime look out for it.

If on the route there should be thick mists ahead which do not move away, or a fixed line, or a damp fog, heave to and sound, keeping a good look-out, for there is probably land near.

If certain flashes with little lights are seen ahead, accompanied by thunder, or there are puffs of wind, it being night time, heave to and sound, as they may be signs of small rocks or islets. If the lightning is forked and the thunder loud, also heave to and sound, keeping a good look-out.

If in spite of the wind that is blowing there come dry gusts from another quarter, or with rain or hail, it is a sign of land being near; it being night time, heave to, waiting for daylight to seek for it.

If the sea appears greasy, with leaves of trees, grass, herbs, wood, branches, palm nuts, and other things which the waves carry from the shores, and rivers send down when in flood, it is a sign of land being near in the direction of the present course of the wind, or the currents have brought them. In that case the

circumstances will indicate what it is best to do, but land will be left behind towards the quarter whence the wind comes.

If there are currents it is better when they are strong, or there are shoals of small fishes which seem to swarm over the sea, or patches of *camarones*, sea snakes, seals, turtles, much bad water, or some land birds, take care, for the ship will be very near the land.

If flocks of many sea birds are met with, such as boobies and petrels, note should be taken of the direction in which they fly, and whence they come in the morning; noticing whether they assemble early and return late, for then they are far from the land; but if they assemble late and return early, the land is near. If they are not seen to assemble, and are heard to make a noise at night, and are still to be seen at dawn, then either land is very near or the birds have slept on the sea. It is to be noted that these birds almost always frequent islets or rocks, because they are nearer their fishing grounds. For this reason there should be vigilance to avoid shoals.

If the birds that may be met with are *piqueros*, ducks, widgeons, gulls, *estopegados*, terns, sparrowhawks, flamingos or *siloricos*, it is a sign that the land is very near; but if there are only boobies so much care is not necessary, because these birds are found far from land, and the same may be said of boatswain birds, which fly where they please. Moreover, if all the birds, or part of them, fly together, it is a sign of proximity to land; and it should be noted whether some of these birds fly as if wounded, seeking land on one or the other side.

If patches of brown water are seen on the sea, it is a sign that there are rocks near the surface; if the patches are white, it is a sign of a sandy bottom, with little depth; a black patch is a sign of ooze and mud; and a green patch points to a bottom covered with weeds. In short, if the sea is of any other colour than the ordinary one of the ocean where there is great depth, namely, dark blue, it is necessary to exercise care, and much more if at night the sea should be heard to make sounds greater than is usual. All the above signs cause an obligation to be very careful and to get soundings; but there are two things which require more especial vigilance, and which have the most importance for the security of the voyage. It is then the principal thing to bear in mind that while all these signs point to land or to rocks; that while the birds have wings and can sleep when they like on the sea; while the fish are in their element; while the winds, the thunder and lightning, and the clouds fly through the air, it is only in God that we must put our confidence, for it is He alone who knows, and who can guide and save the people and the ship.

After anchoring in any port, a careful look-out should be kept both by day and night, for the natives are great swimmers and divers, and might wedge up the rudder, cut the hawsers, or set fire

to the ship. For this reason it is well, in places where there is cause for suspicion, to have a guard in the boat at night over the buoys, or at least to visit them many times.

Take care not to allow so many natives on board the ship as would be able to overpower the crew; and even when they are few, great evil may come to them as well as to us, from ignorance of our arms; whence may arise a commencement of war, and a faithful peace may never then be made.

In effecting a landing, it should always be by day, and never at night. The landing-place should be level and clear of woods, or at least as well situated in these respects as possible; sending dogs in front to discover ambushes, with arms ready, marching together and in order, and entering passes with caution. It should be kept in mind that the natives usually get behind rocks or trees, or stretch themselves flat on the ground even in level places, concealed only by the grass.

Take notice that, if it is possible, chiefs or other natives who appear to be of consequence, should be kept in the ship as hostages, but well treated and given presents of things that they seem to like most. The same course should be followed on shore, when the natives seek intercourse and conversation with us. The barter should be conducted by one of us, who should always give the natives to understand that the things are of great value, as they really are for them; and this because they do not value their own things much, and ours but little.

Learn from the natives whether there are other islands or extensive lands near, if they are inhabited, of what colour are the natives, whether they eat human flesh, if they are friendly or carry on war. Enquire whether they have gold in dust, or in small lumps, or in ornaments; silver worked or to be worked; metals, all kinds of pearls, spices and salt, and if they eat those commodities. If they have names for them, write the names down. Ask in what parts these things are to be found, and what those lands are called. Show pleasure at what they give, and manage to let them know by signs what they ask.

Do not think little of the natives, for they are pilferers and runners, and when they come for that, they know well how to do it; at least, they try, whence follow evils from one side to another, which is what ought to be avoided.

Do not follow the guidance of the natives except with great caution. Never trust or believe in them on any occasion whether they show much or little sign of friendship, because their custom is to watch on the roads and to make pits covered with earth and grass. They are capable of leading those they pretend to guide direct to their traps or ambushes, or with evil intent to get them away from their boats or the beach, and to lead them inland into the woods, and there do what evil they can to them. They always

carry their canes open at both ends, containing a lighted cord, that it may not be extinguished when it rains.

Never allow our people to mix with the natives, nor leave them to join company, owing to the danger that, on a given signal, three or four may fall upon and carry off one of ours to meet the fate which they may want to inflict on him.

On occasions when it is desirable to have an interview with the natives, it should always be in a cleared space, with a good distance between the two parties, and the Chief, or one named by him, standing in the space, so as to concert with him what they desire or ask for. It is always necessary to see that the back is safe without ceasing to watch or even turning the face, but always the whole body. And, when obliged, let it be back to back, with the shields in front, so as to make all more strong and secure.

If it should be necessary to embark in retreat, either in presence or absence of the enemy, half the arquebusiers and shield-bearers should face the natives, that the other half may embark safely; and those embarked are quickly to turn, making the same guard as the one made by those on shore until all are embarked. For, if all embark in a troop, there is danger from arrows, stones, darts, and lances, which are the arms of the natives.

The natives never give up anything they have about them, or anything in their houses, though it be gold, silver, pearls, or any other thing of value, nor do they understand our covetousness. But before we gave them our things we were very liberal, sowing with them and teaching them to sow maize, beans, onions, cotton, and all the most profitable seeds and vegetables. Whenever there is an opportunity, such seeds should be sown even on desert islands. If the place is suitable, rabbits, goats, and swine should be landed, for it is an advantage to enrich those desert lands, remembering the possible needs of future navigators.

Take care not to feed on the things which the natives present to be eaten, because they know how to play tricks. For which reason do not fill your hands, nor quit your arms, nor take your eyes off the natives. Under all circumstances these precautions should be well attended to. One or two of our people should always be on the watch, especially in the direction where there is most cause for suspicion.

Care should be taken to look out for poison put into the water or food. Vegetables and fruits should not be eaten unless known before, or unless they have been seen to be used as food by birds and monkeys.

In ports where natives come to give assistance, never ill-use them nor detain them, unless it is to let them return with clothes or presents, nor break the peace or the word that has been given to them, nor cut down their fruit trees, nor injure their crops, nor destroy their houses or canoes; for all such acts cost them very dear, owing to the difficulty of repairing damages from want of

proper tools. For this cause they seek for vengeance, and withdraw food supplies. In short, all is lost that was intended to be obtained from them. If it seems necessary, they can be made to understand the harm we can do them with our arquebuses, swords, and other arms, but not to do it, refraining at the last.

For two reasons the natives may give false information respecting the land, people, and products, the latter being what we enquire for most and come to seek. The first that we may go, the second that we may be deceived, in revenge for some wrong that has been done them. When it is decided to follow up any of their notices by sea or land, the same natives that have given the information should be made to accompany the party, to secure this point.

The shouts and noises of the natives in their assemblies, and the blowing and beating of their war instruments, need cause no alarm to us, nor should the natives be despised. In forced attacks, arquebus fire should be in the air, with or without ball; and by taking other steps suited to the occasion, they will be made to fly or desist.

A very important notice is that, when seeking for wood, water, or provisions, a boat should be sent with well-armed men to overawe the natives, even in places where it does not seem likely that there will be a rupture with them. If they begin to offer opposition, and the necessity is not very great, it will be as well to return to the ship, and await a better opportunity. If the necessity is great, send a large number of guards to protect the foraging party. Finally, avoid the danger of offending the natives, or being offended by them. The position should be as fathers to children, but they must be watched as if they were known enemies. Our part is always to be in the right, with open and honest intentions; then God will help us, as He helps all those whose objects are good.

It is well known to all those persons who are engaged on this discovery how His Holiness Clement VIII, at my humble petition, has conceded that if our Lord should be served by removing us from this world to another, at the hour of death, if unable to confess or to take the sacrament, being contrite, we name the most holy name of Jesus, either with our mouths or in our hearts, he gives us plenary indulgence and remission of all our sins. I hold the brief for this grace in my possession.

If any person should fall sick, he should presently confess and make his will. If he should die, it is ordered that the master, with a clerk, should make an inventory of his goods, and take charge of them, in order to carry out the wishes of the deceased. If he dies intestate, the same care is to be taken in making an inventory, and in taking care of the goods.

All these things are to be complied with, without exceeding them, unless time is very pressing. In that case, if it appears

necessary, counsel should be taken with the Master and Pilot, officers, and other important persons, and with the opinions of all of them, signed with their names, what is agreed upon may be done, all being for the service of God and of His Majesty. Given on board the ship *San Pedro y San Pablo*, by the leader of the said discovery, in this Gulf of Loreto, navigating on a W.S.W. course, in the latitude of 19°, on January 8th, 1606.

CHAPTER V.

Recounts the navigation that was made, and the signs that were noted, until the first uninhabited island came in sight.

THE fleet continued to steer W.S.W. in accordance with the instructions, from the time that the ships made sail from Callao until they reached the latitude of 16°, where they met with a heavy and confused swell from the S.W. On the 10th of January the first birds were seen, and on the 11th the first showers of rain, with the wind E. and E.S.E. On the 12th the wind was south. On the 13th a number of gulls were seen. On the 15th the wind was N. and N.W. On the 16th we saw great flocks of birds. On the 17th we were in latitude 24°, with the wind S.W. and W., blowing with some force and with a high sea. At this change the Captain presently showed a flag from the maintop mast to take opinions, the weather not allowing of any other way. The pilots of the ships said, by shouting, that, being outside the tropics, all winds might be met with, and by reaching higher latitudes, the north wind would be met with, blowing with greater force. On the 18th the wind went all round the compass, but was generally in the north. On the 21st we had the wind from S. and S.W.

On the 22nd we were in latitude 26°, with a squall and showers from the S.E., and with a great swell from the south. This brought out the timidity of some, saying: "Whither are they taking us, in this great gulf, in the

winter season?" Some said they should get the boat into the sea. We were obliged, by the force of winds and sea, to stand on a W.N.W. course until we reached 25°. On the 24th, at night, we saw the first lightning, which was not very bright. On the 25th we saw the first weeds; and on the 26th we saw birds of several kinds flying together. On this day, at 11 o'clock, we discovered the first island in latitude 25°, and reckoned it to be 800 leagues from Lima. It has a circumference of 5 leagues, many trees, and a beach of sand. Near the land the depth was 80 fathoms. I gave it the name of "*Luna-puesta.*"[1] It was now late, so I determined to stand off and on during the night, waiting for the next day to go to the island; but at dawn we were to leeward, and for this cause and others we left it.

CHAPTER VI.

Relates how the *Almiranta* disappeared and joined company again, and how they sighted the second uninhabited island.

WE were steering to the west in some doubt, when we saw some whales and many gulls. At dawn of this day the *Almiranta* was not in sight. The Captain ordered the mast-head men to look carefully round the horizon, and at 9 the ship was seen coming to us under all sail. This caused as great pleasure, as her absence had given anxiety, for to part company! now one sees what that means. Having arrived, the Captain received a letter in which the Admiral said that, during the previous night, the stern light of the *Capitana* went out; and that, as he was unwell, he had not seen what happened, and had not been able to carry out the orders exactly.

[1] Leza calls it "*Anegada.*" In the Memorial of 1609 the name "*La Encarnaçion*" was given to the first island.

Still steering on the same course, on the 29th of January, at dawn, we sighted another island near, and presently stood towards it. The launch to the S.W. found a port in a small bay, where she anchored in 27 fathoms, and almost on shore. The ships did the same. The people in the launch told them by shouting that she was dragging her anchor; so the ships stood out, and the launch got up her anchor and made sail.

Three men were sent from the *Almiranta* in a dingey to land. Fearing to remain they came back quickly, bringing certain fruits known to some on board, which were too unripe to eat. They said that the landing was very bad for a dingey, and would be much worse for larger boats.

This island was supposed to be 870 leagues from Lima. It is 10 leagues round. It is massive, moderately high, open, having groves and plains. It is steep, too, and its beaches are rocky. It is only inhabited by birds. Its latitude is 24° 45′. It was named "*San Juan Bautista*;"[1] and as it had no port where we could get wood and water, we continued our voyage to the W.N.W.

This day the Admiral came on board to see the Captain about certain matters; who, to put an end to discord, made the Admiral embrace the Chief Pilot and make friends, for there was very little friendship between them before.

On the following day, which was the penultimate of January, a great number of birds were seen, and on the last day of that month there were such squalls that it was necessary to strike the topmasts.

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[1] Leza calls it "*San Puerto*." Torres gives the name of "*San Valerio*." The two islands are 75 leagues apart.

CHAPTER VII.

Recounts how they came in sight of the third island that was discovered, and a great storm.

FOLLOWING the W.N.W. course, on the 3rd of February, the Captain put out a flag on the topmast for the ships to close and the pilots to report in what latitude they were, how many leagues from Lima, the observations the ships had taken respecting lee-way, winds, and the variation of the needle, also the bearing of the islands of Las Marquesas de Mendoza. The ships closed, and the pilots said that, owing to the clouds, they had not been able to take the sun for three days; that they thought Las Marquesas de Mendoza bore N.N.E.; and that after they had got the sun's meridian altitude they could make a more formal report.

While this was going on land was sighted to the west, which, being concealed by clouds, was near; and as it was late, all sails were set. Night came on, and, having gone a short distance, a dark and thick cloud rose in the north-east in three parts, which soon became one, and made its way towards the ships with such speed and fury that all began to seek for remedies against the evils that menaced them. The ships, trembling, received the force of the storm, and went over on their sides. The sea rose, and all were horrified. The lightning in the air seemed to rend the heavens and blind the sight. Three thunderbolts were heard to fall; the thunder was awful, the pouring rain terrible, and the squalls of wind so violent that it seemed as if the least damage would be the fall of the masts. The launch being close to, her Pilot shouted in a hoarse voice: "The *Capitana* ahoy! Alter course—ahoy! Luff up!" All was confusion, hurry, and noise. The night was

fearful, decision doubtful, and great the anxiety to know whether the position of the ships was safe.

Our Father Commissary, with a cross in his hands, passed the whole night conjuring the sea and winds. St. Elmo appeared, as the sailors say, which they saluted with great devotion three times. In short, it was a dark, confused, ugly, and long night which we passed, confiding, after God, in the soundness of our ships and the stoutness of our sailors. When the long-wished-for daylight came, we saw that our land was an island surrounded by a reef. Neither port nor bottom could be found, though sought for with care, as we were in want of water, and for fuel we only had brushwood. Seeing that the island was so useless, we left it for what it was; and, considering the night it had given us, it would have been dear even if it had been a very good land instead of a very bad one. This island was calculated to be 1,030 leagues from Lima, 36 leagues round, in latitude 20° 30′. It was named St. Elmo.

CHAPTER VIII.

Four other desert islands are sighted, and what else happened.

STEERING W.N.W., on the following day, we sighted an island about 6 leagues off, and presently another, and then two more, and at none of the four was there bottom or port. There are reefs and shoals almost continuous. The distance from one to the other was four or five leagues, and from the City of the Kings 1,050. Their latitude is 20°, and they were named *Las cuarto coronadas*.[1]

The Captain, considering that on all these seven newly-discovered islands neither a port nor water could be found,

[1] Torres calls them "*Las Virgenes*."

and finding that there were fewer water-jars than he ordered to be embarked, he made some discourses with respect to the time and the present state of affairs, and deemed it necessary to reduce, as he did reduce, the allowance of water. Twelve or fifteen jars of water that were consumed each day he reduced to three or four jars. He was present when it was served out, saw the hatchway closed, and kept the keys.

Presently he ordered a brick oven to be built over one of the hearths, in order to make sweet water from sea water, with a copper instrument he had with him, by means of distillation. They got two or three jars full every day, very good and wholesome. On the least productive day there was a jar and a-half, and altogether fifty jars. This invention, with certain improvements, promises, with little expenditure of fuel, to turn out in fifteen hours eight, nine, and ten jars of fresh water, and more if it is necessary.[1]

This was Ash Wednesday. Our Father Commissary gave ashes to every person on board the ship. The course was W.N.W., and at a distance of 75 leagues from the four isles astern we sighted another small island to the N.E., but could not approach owing to being to windward. We judged its latitude to be 18° 30′. It received the name of *San Miguel.* Owing to threatening weather and darkness, we were hove to this night with all the ships.

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[1] This is a very early notice of the use of a method of obtaining fresh water by condensing.

CHAPTER IX.

The first inhabited island is sighted ; what happened there with the natives.

NEXT day, which was the 10th of February, having a look-out man at each mast-head, constantly watching all parts of the horizon, the *Almiranta* fired a piece, and land ahead was reported in all three ships. As all the other islands were desert, it was expected that this one would be the same, so the report was received with very moderate rejoicing. We presently steered towards it, and soon a high and thick smoke was seen to rise between two palms. Those in the launch presently shouted : "People, people on the beach!" The news was as joyful as incredible to many, from having been so long desired, fearing lest it should prove a mistake, until, coming nearer, we clearly saw men, and the sight was hailed as if they had been angels.[1]

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[1] This island is Anaa, or Chain Island, about 200 miles east of Tahiti, in the same latitude. It was named "*Conversion de San Pablo*" by Quiros. No name is given by Torres or in Torquemada. Burney confused "*Sagittaria*," a small atoll seen after leaving "*Conversion de San Pablo*," with that island. Whenever he mentions "*Sagittaria*," it should be "*Conversion de San Pablo*." Burney says that the "*Sagittaria*" of Quiros is generally believed to be Tahiti (vol. ii, p. 277 *n.*). It was Captain Wallis, the discoverer of Tahiti in 1767, who first thought that he had identified that beautiful island with the "*Sagittaria*" of Quiros : because the latitude is about the same, and because a low isthmus is described. But Tahiti has several good anchorages ; the island of Quiros has none. Tahiti is very lofty ; the island of Quiros is flat. Tahiti has abundant supplies of water ; the island described by Quiros has none. Moreover, Quiros says that his first inhabited island has a large shallow lake in its centre. The Pilot Leza describes it as a ring of land encircling part of the sea. Sir William Wharton, who identifies the island with Anaa, or Chain Island, has pointed out that the passages describing the landing, especially the one in Torquemada, are excellent accounts of the difficulty of landing on the foreshore of a low reef island ; but Tahiti, though there is a barrier reef round it, has a smooth lagoon

Of this glory the Captain got a large share, for until now he had been saying: "God shows us in this sea millions and millions of natives." The people were restless from sheer satisfaction, so that they had not attended to the sails. The launch anchored near the slope of the beach, and the two ships presently stood out to sea, as there was no port for them. They got the boats out to search, but could not find one, sounding until they came opposite to the place where the natives stood in a row, with clubs and lances in their hands. Our people who saw them thought it was war, but looked at them and spoke by signs. They said our men should land, also by signs.

The place was dangerous, and little satisfaction could be got from the natives; so our people in the boats determined to return to the ships to avoid any collision. The waves did their office, and the natives, when they saw the high ones, told the boats to keep away, owing to the danger they ran. As it appeared to our people that these demonstrations were all made out of kindness, two undressed and jumped into the water. As soon as they landed the natives, putting down their lances, all together at one time bowed their heads and arms, and saluted three times. Apparently, the welcome and smiles were to receive our men, and when one was knocked over by a wave, they picked him up, embraced him, and kissed him on his

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within, with easy landing, and there are numerous openings in the reef. The description of the march across what has been supposed to be an isthmus, answers to the low land of an atoll, the water on the other side being the lagoon.

The only low island near Tahiti is Tetaroa, which is 20 miles from it. But another low island was not seen by Quiros, after leaving "*Conversion de San Pablo*," until the second day. Starting from Tahiti, there is no such island; but, sailing from Anaa and steering W.N.W. before the trade wind, there are such low islands as are mentioned.

These considerations make it quite certain that Quiros never sighted Tahiti, as Burney supposes.

cheeks, which is a way of showing friendship used also in France. When the people in the boats saw the loyalty with which the natives received complete strangers, not knowing their intentions, two others went on shore. One of them was very white, and the natives, when they saw him, came and felt his back, breast, and arms, showing much astonishment, and they did the same with the other three. All four gave them what they had, which the natives received with signs of love. The one who appeared to be chief over the others gave to one of our people a palm branch as a sign of friendship, and also did more. He crossed his arms, making very friendly signs to our people that they should come to the village, to which they pointed with their fingers, to give them to eat.

With this they took their leave, and our men embarked, to the sorrow of the natives. Eight of them followed the boats, and to see them the men laid on their oars and invited them to get in, but they were afraid. The launch and the boats returned to where the ships were at sunset. Presently, the Chief Pilot asked the Captain what was to be done, who replied that they would beat to windward that night, and on the following day return to the same point, or to another, and search again for a port or anchorage, or for water, which was much needed. The Chief Pilot went aloft, and said from the mast-head that he saw a bay to leeward, much better than the bay of Cadiz.

All night we stood off and on, rather joyful at the thought of finding this port, and at dawn we found ourselves 3 leagues to leeward of the place where the natives had been seen; and looking out a first and a second time, there was no sign of that bay, but only a narrow and long reef almost covered by the water. There was one place where there were some palm trees, for which reason the Captain sent both the boats, well manned and armed with

jars, to seek for water. They found the beach very difficult, most of it rocks, on which the waves broke with great fury. But undaunted by this, our people jumped into the water up to their waists, loaded with arquebuses, spades, and crowbars, and the last, whose name was Belmonte,[1] had such difficulty that, if Ensign Rozo[2] had not helped him with his spear, which enabled him to get out, there would have been an end of his career. Marching in good order, they entered a palm grove, where they found, at the foot of a tree, a number of brown stones, and one in the form of an altar, covered with branches. It was supposed that this was a burial-place, or a place where the Devil spoke to and deceived these miserable natives, without there being any one to obstruct him. Our people, to sanctify the place, set up a cross,[3] and gave God thanks on their knees for being the first to hoist His royal standard in an unknown place inhabited by heathens. In sorrow for their evil condition, they spoke thus: "How long, O pious Lord, is the darkness in which they live to last for these people?" They said this with all due reverence; and, leaving the cross, they began to dig for water, which they did not find, but were able to quench their actual thirst with cocoa-nuts.

When they went down to embark they saw a shape, which appeared to be that of a man, coming towards them at a short distance. They went to see what it was, and found that it was an old woman, who appeared to be a

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[1] Luis de Belmonte Bermudez, the Secretary to Quiros and probable author of the narrative.

[2] It should be Sojo.

[3] Dr. Bolton G. Corney found at Seville the journal of the frigate *Aquila*, which was sent by the Viceroy of Peru on a voyage to Tahiti, under the command of Don Tomas Gayangos in 1774. In reconnoitring the island of Anaa, on November 2nd, 1774, a well-proportioned cross was seen, set up on a sandy beach, on the skirts of a wood. The Spaniards of 1774 named the island "Todos Santos."

hundred years of age: a tall and large woman, with fine and long black hairs and only four or five grey ones, her colour brown, face and body wrinkled, teeth few and decayed, and with other faults caused by a long life. She came along, waving with soft palm leaves. She carried some cuttle-fish dried in the sun, in a basket, and a knife made from a mother-of-pearl shell, also a skein of thread. A little speckled dog accompanied her, which ran away.

'With this good capture the boat returned to the Captain, to show her to him, who was highly delighted at seeing a human creature. He seated her on a box, and gave her meat and soup from a pot, which she ate without scruple; but she could not manage the hard biscuit. She showed that she knew well how to drink wine. A mirror was put into her hand, and she looked at the back, then at the front, and when she saw her face she was much pleased. All noticed her good manners, and concluded that, when young, she was not bad-looking. She looked at all the men with attention, but she displayed the greatest pleasure in looking at the boys. She looked at the goats as if she had seen them before. There was a gold ring with an emerald on one of her fingers. She was asked for it, but replied by signs that she could not give it without cutting off her finger, and she seemed sorry for this. She was offered one of brass, which she did not care for. Having given her things to dress herself with and take away, we saw four canoes coming from the village under sail, out of a lake which the island has in its centre, and they anchored near the palm grove. The Captain presently ordered the old woman to be landed, in order to reassure the natives. They no sooner recognised her than they came to see her, and looked at her as if she had been long absent. They came to our people with the confidence of friends. There were seventy-two natives, and by signs they said that they

were going, as they presently did go, to see the cross. As well as they could our people tried to make them understand its value, and that they should place themselves before it on their knees. Finally, they did all that they were told.

When it was asked which of them was the chief, they pointed out a robust, tall, and well-proportioned native, with a good well-complexioned face, who appeared to be fifty years of age. He wore on his head a tuft of black feathers, and towards the front some skeins of golden hairs whose ends reached half way down his back. According to their custom, it should be the hair of his wife. He also wore round his neck a large plate of mother-of-pearl. He had a serious manner, and all the others paid him great respect. He was asked whether he would like to go on board the ship, and, having given us to understand that he would, he was taken to the boats with some followers. One of the boats having been swamped, they helped to raise her. The chief got into one boat, and several natives into another, but when they had gone a short distance they jumped overboard, apparently from fear, and began to swim. The chief wanting to do the same, we detained him. He tried to do so by main strength, which was great, and to take a knife from a soldier, but failed. He made other attempts, but nothing availed him. The boat arrived alongside, and four men took hold of him and tried to make him go up; but it was labour in vain, for he would not stir. The chief was stretched out at his whole length, fencing with his nervous arms, and in this way he strove to get clear and escape by swimming. Seeing he could not do this, he put one foot against the ship's side and sent the boat some distance. When we saw how much trouble he was giving, he was fastened to a whip, to hoist him into the ship; and when he found himself secured he got into such a fury that it shocked our eyes.

The Captain went down into the boat, and the first thing he did was to take in his hand the palm branch the other had given him, and to remove the cord which had caused the chief such anger. He showed that he felt this release very much, both by his face and his hands; but not for this did he consider himself in safety. With melancholy looks he gazed at those who were in the boat, then at the ships, the sails and masts, and at the land, pointing with his finger that he wanted to return there. The Captain was sorry to find him so discontented. He dressed him in a pair of breeches and shirt of yellow silk, put a hat upon his head, a tin medal round his neck, gave him a case of knives, embraced him, and ordered the boat to go on shore. This quieted him.

A sergeant and some men had remained on shore, collecting cocoa-nuts. Three, who were together, saw the natives collected in order with their lances, and appearing to be determined to force them into their canoes, as their chief had been forced to go to the ship. Eight of our people got together, and pointed out to the natives that they had remained as sureties, and that their chief was now coming on shore in the boat. With this, and owing to two of us showing off by fencing with their swords, the natives remained peaceable until their chief landed, when they were astonished at his being clothed. He gave them to understand what had happened, and they ran to receive him. One of these was a well-made youth, and very handsome. He was supposed to be the chief's son, for he was the only one he embraced, and the two together showed an expression of sentiment at which the others helped.

These and other strange doings having been finished, in the order of drilled soldiers, all carrying the chief in their midst, they marched slowly to their canoes, and some of our men, who were looking on and noting all this, went with them. The natives, who were now contented, gave

them water to drink, and some fish they had brought to eat. The chief, who had left his garland of plumes and tresses on shore, gave it into the hands of the sergeant, to be given to the Captain who had released and clothed him. This was the final act of a man who knew and was grateful, though himself unknown, causing confusion to some of the company who received much greater benefits, and gave a bad return. The natives then departed, and our people, to give them joy, fired their arquebuses into the air, and returned on board.

To this island the name of the "Conversion of St. Paul" was given. It is in latitude 18°, distant from Lima 1,180 leagues.[1] Its circumference is 40 leagues, and in the centre there is a large shallow lake. The people are corpulent, and of very good shape and colour. Their hair is fine and loose, and they have their parts covered. Their arms are thick and heavy lances of palm-wood, about 30 *palmos* long, and clubs of the same wood. The anchorage, where the launch found bottom, is on the east side near the palm grove above referred to, near which is the village on the shores of the lake.

As soon as the people had come on board, it seemed desirable to the Captain that the ships should lie-to that night, in order to go next day to where the natives were. The Chief Pilot said that as it was well to windward, and not to waste the water, it would be better to stand on, as we did, with the wind E. to N.E. Next day another island was sighted to the N.E., and named "Decena."[2] We could not go either to it or to other islands that were sighted later. The first was named "Sagitaria,"[3] the second

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[1] The S.E. end, 18° 30′ S. (*Torres*); N.W. point, 17° 40′ S. (*Torquemada*). Burney calculates the longitude 147° 7′ W.

[2] Niau, or Greig Island, of the chart. Torres calls it "*Santa Polonia.*"

[3] Makatea, or Aurora Island, of the chart.

"Fugitiva."[1] Afterwards, in latitude 14°, the pilots were asked for their positions, who gave them, some much more, others much less.

CHAPTER X.

Relates how the Captain received reports that there was a plot to seize the ship, and of the discourses he made and precautions he took in consequence.

THE Captain already had seen that the Chief Pilot altered the course, and it was intimated he wanted to mutiny with the crew, and that if there was two days' delay there would be no remedy. One man there was who said that, with this object, it was determined to stab the Captain and throw the body overboard. This and other things were told to the Captain, which he did not believe, except some things that came to him through base rumours, and that which he himself saw, that appeared bad. He considered that a mutiny can only begin between two or three, and that to corrupt the rest there must be sounding of people, friendships, and much intercourse, and that such things must be seen. It was observed that the Chief Pilot showed little zeal in seeking for what was needed; that he wasted the water and provisions among his particular friends, and others whose friendship he obtained in that way, and who might well be innocent; that he showed favour to all. The noise they made together in the ship, the quarrels with the

[1] Matahiva, or Lazareff Island, of the chart. The present editor may be excused for referring to Lazareff as the first coral island he ever saw. He was a naval cadet on board H.M.S. *Collingwood* when, at seven bells in the forenoon of Friday, August 8th, 1845, she sighted the island. There was a border of white sand between the blue sea and the dense cocoa-nut grove. He went to the main-topmast head for a view of the interior lagoon over the cocoa-nut trees. At that very time he was reading Burney's account of the voyage of Quiros.

officers, the consultations continually held by day and night, were suspicious.

One day the Captain said to the whole crew that the Royal Majesty despatched those ships at great expense, to see whether there was in this unknown part of the earth the land which was supposed to exist. With this object all might be quite sure that they would have to search for it, ploughing all the ocean with long turns until it was found, even if it cost all their lives. To the Chief Pilot he said that he should know his duties, saying much respecting them. But this did not lead him into better courses, and he sent to say that he wanted leave to go on board the *Almiranta* with the Father Commissary. To this the Captain answered that he might go presently; but he did not go, nor did he refer to the matter again. There was not wanting one who said that these invitations were misunderstood by the Captain, and added that discoveries always cost the finders dear, and that the Captain could not put down the discontents nor satisfy the others. For all this, patience and vigilance were two very necessary things.

The Captain, seeing the low latitude they had reached without having found the mother of those islands we had left behind, hearing the Chief Pilot shout to the Captain of the launch that winter was near, and other things that it was not well for the men to hear; that others said that if the course had been S.S.W. the coast of the land of which we were in search followed the same course; that now we should never reach it, but should be engulfed by contrary winds, where it would be impossible to live, and that in the end all would perish; that these sayings were witnesses of the little love some had for the service, and of the great love they had for themselves; and that they were far from having the valorous minds which ought to animate the searchers for unknown lands, to uphold the original motives and perform heroic deeds, or at least make them merit a

good name—owing to these shortcomings and many others, he said in public that they should know how to value and enjoy having been chosen to the lot of searching for and discovering the fourth part of the globe which is yet unknown, and not show themselves ready to turn back and be tired without occasion. And mark! what services are there without requiring that men should be ready to suffer all the blows that may come? I ordered that the course should be N.W. as far as latitude 10° 40′, so as to reach the east of the Island of San Bernardo, which in the other voyage I helped to discover, although we did not then arrive at it.

CHAPTER XI.

Relates how we came in sight of the Island of San Bernardo, and what happened there.

WE continued to navigate on the same course until the 19th of February. On that day we altered course to west, and on the 21st the Pilot of the *Almiranta*, Juan Bernardo de Fuentidueña, said that on that very day we should see—as we did see—the island we sought. We lay to under little sail for the night. Next day we proceeded towards the island, the launch next ahead, and anchored close to the land, and thence the crew shouted to the other ships, which were coming up to anchor, that there was no port for them.

The Captain then lowered the two boats, and sent an officer with the boat's crews to search for water, for the scarcity of it forced them to be on an allowance of a *cuartillo* a day. They went on shore, searched for water, but could find none, and returned on board.

This island of San Bernardo is uninhabited, divided

into four or five hummocks, and all the rest submerged. Its circumference appeared to be 10 leagues. It is in latitude 10° 40′. The anchorage is on the north side, and only available for small vessels. Its distance from the city of the Kings was calculated to be 1,400 leagues. An old canoe, lying on her side, was found on the island.

There was a great number of fish inshore, and, owing to the water being very shallow, they were killed with swords and poles. There were great numbers of lobster and craw-fish, and other kinds of marine animals. They found a great quantity of cocoa-nuts in a heap at the foot of the palm trees, many large, and of different sizes. There were a great quantity of sea birds of several kinds, and so importunate that they seemed to want to attack the men. We took plenty of all these things.

It seemed to the Captain that on an island where there are so many trees there could not fail to be water. He wished to wait during that night, so that on the following day they might return and make a more thorough search for water, and at least they could get more fish. The Chief Pilot said that the people were tired, and made other excuses and said things, making them all legitimate daughters of our necessities.

The Captain, finding himself very ill and overwhelmed by cares of many kinds, and that there were some who, like moths, were eating against the enterprise, and causing much discontent, and that they kept in memory the great abundance of the court, the cold snows, the fresh fruit, and other memories which cooled their wills and changed them in other ways, and that up to the present time we had not found an island with a port, nor water, and that it was not right to risk the little we had in a business that was so important, the weather being doubtful and the point in the direction of which we should find land uncertain: for these and other reasons, which I leave out, it was decided that

the best course would be to seek the island of Santa Cruz, which was known to possess a port and water, and other things necessary for the provisioning of a ship, intending to begin to make discoveries from there, as if we were starting from Lima. In prosecution of this decision we steered west.

That night there was a great disturbance on board the *Capitana*. At the noise the Captain came out, and found some tackling each other, others going to arm themselves, and the Chief Pilot with a drawn sword, with which he had wounded a man. It was taken out of his hands, without understanding who was the culprit or who was the author of the disturbance. That which the Captain felt he kept to himself, confessing that he was so weak that he was unable to say in a loud voice a third word.

CHAPTER XII.

How they sighted the second inhabited island, and what happened there.

WITH the wind in the east, they continued on a western course until the 1st of March. That night, the launch being ahead, she fired off a small piece, and a man shouted, "Land ahead!" Presently we saw it, and a fire burning, at the sight of which there was great content. When it became broad daylight we saw an island, and steered towards it. When we came near, two canoes came out to reconnoitre, but the people in them, though we called, would not wait. The launch anchored very near the land, and presently a fleet of ten small canoes, rowing fast and as if racing, came out towards the *Capitana*. Having arrived, we saw on board them some tall men, well made and handsome, and of a good colour. They all came

singing to the sound of their paddles, one of them leading, to whom the rest replied; and by signs they told us to call to the *Almiranta*, that by rounding a certain point he would follow the way outside; showing that it gave them sorrow to see that, and that they remained joyful now that they saw her return. They also gave us to understand, pointing with their fingers, that we should go to their port. What their object was they knew. Many stood upright, and with arms and hands, legs and feet, and with their paddles, they made sounds with great dexterity, dances, and gestures. Their chief theme was music, and to show themselves joyful and merry before our ships. But in spite of our importunities, they never would come on board, nor eat of anything we gave them, which they received on the points of their lances and showed to all the others; and what fell into the sea they dexterously recovered, by diving for it.

Five natives came in a canoe, the middle one vigorously bailing the water out of the vessel. His red hair came down to the waist. He was white as regards colour, beautifully shaped, the face aquiline and handsome, rather freckled and rosy, the eyes black and gracious, the forehead and eyebrows good, the nose, mouth, and lips well proportioned, with the teeth well ordered and white. In fine, he was sweet in his laughter and smiles, and his whole appearance was cheerful. Being rich in so many parts and graces, he would be judged to be very beautiful for a girl; but he was actually a youth of about thirteen years. This was he who at first sight stole away the hearts of all on board the ship; he was most looked at and called to, and he to whom all offered their gifts, and to whom the Captain, with great persuasion, desired to present a dress of silk, which he accepted, and put on with much grace. It was pain to the Captain that the youth could not be kept, to take as a proof of the greatness of God in those parts.

Many natives came to the launch, and, having fastened a cord to the bowsprit, they tried to drag her on to the beach. Others, diving into the water, fastened ropes to the cable and dragged for the anchor. Others took up positions to conceal their tricks. The Captain of the launch, seeing their diligence and how quickly they went to work, fired off arquebuses to frighten them. But they, ignorant of the effects, showed no fear at all, even seizing hold of naked swords with their hands, until some were hurt, when there was a disturbance and talk among themselves, and they rowed away in their canoes at a great rate. At this time a very audacious old man came in one of their canoes to the *Capitana*, with a very long and thick lance of palm wood, well balanced; and he had on a sort of cloak or hood made of a leaf dyed crimson, and a hat they had given him from the launch. He was a tall, robust man, and very supple, and showed himself to be arrogant. Wounded in feet and legs, they trembled violently. He made fierce faces with his eyes and mouth. In a very loud voice he seemed to order us to surrender. With his lance, brandishing it menacingly, he made as many thrusts as he could. With the intention of making him quiet, two muskets were fired off. The others cried out and threw up their arms, but he made light of it. With great pride he showed more signs of his anger; and, finding he could do nothing, he quickly passed both ships and went to where the launch was, following all the other canoes.

At this time both the ships anchored, there being a land breeze, and all the natives went on shore, and showed themselves ready for war. In a short time the wind was abeam, and though light, it swung the ships so as to bring them too near the shore, and they were in great danger. The Captain ordered the cables to be slipped and sail to be made in great haste, sending the boats to recover the anchors and cables. The natives, it seemed, either for love or sorrow, on seeing

how quickly we departed without carrying out our good or evil intentions, not understanding the reasons any more than we understood theirs, many of them eame swimming and taking hold of the oars of one of the boats, trying with all their force to take them from those who were rowing. Such was the courage and audacity of the old man with the cloak that, only with a stick, he attacked an Ensign standing on the forecastle, who received the blow on his shield. He did not like to return it, because it was the Captain's order that no harm was to be done to the natives either in person or property. But I suspect, according to what happened afterwards, that there was less care about this order than appeared.

The launch and boats collected where the ships had been. The Captain sent for the Admiral, and told him that he had determined to send an armed party on shore next day with the boats, and the launch as an escort. The party, by good management, was to bring on board at least four boys, one of them being the youth who has already been described, and the others to be like him. It is to be noted that, the ships and crews being placed in such manifest danger in so small an island, this method or some other is necessary to get the wood and water of which we are in want, and which should be sought for to the S. and S.W. These instructions were repeated several times, and a strong desire was expressed that the Admiral himself should be the leader of the party.

We stood off and on during the night, very desirous that it should come to an end, and when the day dawned the Admiral started with the landing party. At the first place the landing was opposed by the natives, and he was obliged to go further on. Here all the men jumped into the sea, the waves dashing against them and rolling them over, and they reached the shore after much buffeting and in great danger. One boat was capsized, leaving the four rowers

underneath. Another wave righted her again, and the men were saved. They were not sailors, so that the loss caused by them was serious, in jars and other things for getting water and fuel, and in a certain number of arquebuses.

On the beach there were a great number of natives, ranged in order and armed; and all with one voice gave a *pabori*, which I understand to be a kind of intoned shout or war cry, and they closed with a noise very brief but terrible. They came against us, and it was necessary to attack them with vigour owing to their being so close; and the arquebuses, which are a terror to those who do not know them but see their effects, terrified them, and they fled, carrying, as they had brought, the king or chief in a litter on their shoulders, holding palm leaves to shade him. Two or three were left behind, and set fire to the dry grass at intervals. We understood that this was either a signal of peace, or an imitation of the fire from our muskets.

The fugitives all fled to a village under a grove of palm trees, near a lake which the island has in the middle. Most of them went in canoes to the other side.

The Admiral formed his *corps de garde*, and a boy came to them, as they said, so beautiful and with such golden hair, that to see him was the same as to see a painted angel. With crossed hands he offered them his person, either as a prisoner or to do what they liked with him. The Admiral, seeing him so humble and so handsome, embraced him and dressed him in breeches and shirt of silk, which the Captain had given out of the store for barter, supplied with this object by His Majesty. The boy, to show his pleasure, climbed up some very tall palm trees with agility, and threw down cocoa-nuts for us, asking if we wanted more. Many other natives, seeing that he was well treated, came down and arrived where our people were. The Admiral, without moving, called that, the better to secure them, the capture would be much easier when they were close together.

But Satan, who does not sleep at such important junctures, contrived that an ill-conditioned recruit should enter one of their houses. The owner opposed his entrance. Another of our men came up; but the native used his club so well that he would have killed one if others had not come, for he was lying senseless on the ground, while his companion ran away. The native faced our people, and an ensign named Gallardo, who came up first, fired a shot at him. When he felt that he was wounded and saw the blood, he rushed upon Gallardo with great courage, who, to stop him, ran him through with his sword. He fell dead on the ground who, as a valiant defender of his house, did not deserve such a fate. Owing to this death, and to others which followed, the Admiral lost the opportunity he had desired and planned. And now, to follow the plan and what depended upon it, he set forward to wrestle with fortune. When the natives saw what had happened, they fled like the rest, and so our people remained with all their trouble in vain; for so great a misfortune suffices and exceeds what is wanted. One of our men said of the dead that it was of little importance that we should have sent them to the Devil to-day, as they would have to go to-morrow —a sentiment very far from all reason, and especially when they had the Faith of Christ at the doors of their souls.

The soldiers, divided into squadrons, marched into the interior. On the path taken by Gallardo and some friends a noise was heard, and the branches were seen to move. They all got ready their arms, and Gallardo cocked his piece and pointed it, moving to see what it was. Coming near, there rose up some children in haste and fear—two boys and three girls, all pretty creatures, the oldest about ten years—and with them a lady, graceful and sprightly, with neck, bosom, and waist well formed, hair very red, long and loose. She was extremely beautiful and pleasant to look upon, in colour very white; and, being so pretty, it

was a great surprise to our people, more than to her; for, with quick steps and smiling face, she came forward to receive Gallardo, who gave her his new cloak, which he carried doubled under his left arm; and presently, with great love, both arms extended, she embraced him, and gave, according to their custom, the kiss of peace on the cheek. The finding of this nest did not fail to be useful to our people, as they told me afterwards, for the lady did not prove to be prudish in going with them; so that—and I say this—they left behind them a rich capture, which I shall always feel to be the great loss of six souls.

Passing onwards, they saw behind some bushes an old man concealed, who could scarcely open his eyes. Gallardo, seeing that he was so afflicted, gave him a hand, and was surprised that he could grasp with such strength, and that there should be such vigour in one who seemed so weak.

Having seen what he could of the island, the Admiral went back to the boats with his party, where he found the surf as furious as when he landed. To such an extreme did they come on the sight of it, that many wanted to remain on the island, where the sea urchins on the beach hurt their feet. They embarked with difficulty and danger, and returned to the ships. The Admiral excused himself from having an interview with the Captain, whose regret need not be mentioned, owing to his annoyance at the mismanagement.

In the houses of the natives a great quantity of soft and very fine mats were found, and others larger and coarser; also tresses of very golden hair, and delicate and finely woven bands, some black, others red and grey; fine cords, strong and soft, which seemed of better flax than ours, and many mother-o'-pearl shells, one as large as an ordinary plate. Of these and other smaller shells they make, as was seen and collected here, knives, saws, chisels, punches, gouges, gimlets, and fish-hooks. Needles to sew their

clothes and sails are made of the bones of some animal, also the adzes with which they dress timber. They found many dried oysters strung together, and in some for eating there were small pearls. Certain white hairs were seen, which appeared to be those of an animal.

This island is very flat, and about 6 leagues long. In one part, which is nearly submerged, is the water which the natives drink, which seems to me to be only rain-water detained in the sand on its passage to the sea. In this same part there are some collections of huts. The land is divided among many owners, and is planted with certain roots, which must form their bread. All the rest is a large and thick palm grove, which is the chief sustenance of the natives. Of the wood and leaves they build and roof their houses, which are of four *vertientes*,[1] curiously and cleanly worked, each with a roof, open behind, and all the floors covered and lined with mats, also made of palms; and of the more tender shoots they weave fine cloths, with which the men cover their loins, and the women their whole bodies.

Of these palms the natives also make their canoes, and some very large vessels, twenty yards in length and two wide, more or less, in which they navigate for great distances. They hold about fifty persons. Their build is strange, there being two concave boats about a fathom apart, with many battens and cords firmly securing them together. Of these palms they make masts, and all their rigging, sails, rudders, oars, paddles, utensils for baling, their lances and clubs. On these palms grow the cocoa-nuts, which serve them for food and drink, grease for their wounds, and cups to hold their water. It may almost be said that these trees sustain the good people who are here, and will remain in the wilderness until God takes pity on them.

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[1] The sloping sides of a roof.

This island was calculated to be 1,600 leagues from Lima, in latitude 10° 20′. The port where the vessels were anchored is on the north side, very near the land, and in front of the village. It appeared well to the Captain that it should receive the name of "Peregrina."[1]

CHAPTER XIII.

What happened after leaving this island.

IN latitude 10° 20′ we continued our course to the westward, making for the Island of Santa Cruz, having met with fine weather, some mists, and some changes of wind from W. to N.W. until the 21st of March. This day being the equinox, the needles were observed at sunrise and sunset, and it was found that the variation was N. by E. ½ E.

In the night of the following day, being Holy Thursday, processions were made in all three vessels, with much burning of wax and discipline. All night the altars were standing, and men on their knees put up continual prayer.

On the same night there was a great and total eclipse of the sun. It seemed to begin at eight o'clock at night, and lasted two hours and a-half.

Now that so many days had passed without reaching the Island of Santa Cruz, where there was the hope of anchoring in the Bay of Graciosa, and of quenching the terrible thirst they felt in the water-springs, and because the execution of this desire was so long delayed, the Captain, it was said, should make amends. Some of them said that he merited exemplary punishment for having, solely for his own profit and

[1] Torres called it "*Matanza.*" In Torquemada the name "*Gente Hermoso*" is given. The Memorial (1609) gives "*Peregrino.*"

advantage, taken them all to die in these great gulfs of the ocean; that the supposed land was a dream; and that he had deceived the Pope and the King with his stories. According to what afterwards became known, worse things were said of him than if he had been a Turk. The Captain replied to all this that it was not a new thing to him, for in other voyages he had sailed with men who were easily wearied. What such men wanted was good health, plenty to eat and drink, little work, many complaints, much grumbling together, and as little love as possible for the voyage, with much fear of the weather. It was not to be desired that vile mothers should bring forth such harmful and ugly monsters. Often it is found that officers do what they like rather than what they are ordered to do. Some sell the stores in their charge, others give them away to secure silence or to make friends, in fear of enemies; and for many other objects all deceive more or less. As the interested persons are witnesses of these truths, they keep the secret well. So many are culpable in these or other ways, that they force him who governs to make a faithful man of a thief, for in any other way there would be internecine war.

CHAPTER XIV.

The assembly of Pilots; what happened at it, and the arrest of the Chief Pilot.

ON the 25th of March, being Easter eve, the Chief Pilot said in public that he found the distance from Callao to be 2,220 leagues, and that he said so for what might happen in consequence. For this reason, and because there was uneasiness and difference of opinion respecting the voyage among some, the Captain ordered a flag to be hoisted on the maintopmast, the signal for counsel; in order that the

people, who were little satisfied with what they heard the Chief Pilot say, might be appeased and quieted. The two other vessels closed, and the Admiral, Luis Vaez Torres, Juan Bernardo de Fuentidueña, and from the launch the Captain of her, Pedro Bernal Cermeño, all three being pilots, came in their boats to the *Capitana*. Being together, with the Chief Pilot and his assistant, Gaspar Gonzalez, the former, without any apparent cause, went up into the deck-house in a great state of agitation, a thing which appeared to everyone very strange and very bad. The Captain called him down, and, when he had come, the meeting was thus addressed:—

"This meeting is convoked in order that each one may state in public the number of leagues he believes we are from the port of Callao, also the reason why we have not yet come to the island of Santa Cruz, having navigated in order to reach it, and on the same parallel. Take notice that it is large and not low, and that near it there is a volcano so high that it may be seen at a distance of 40 leagues; also that the distance of Santa Cruz from Lima is 1,850 leagues." When the Captain had said this, the Pilots showed their charts and notes. As they were only by dead reckoning, there were great differences, especially in the reckoning of the Chief Pilot, which was 2,300 more or less, and in that of Captain Bernal. The Admiral said that he made it 2,000 leagues, and that there may be currents which detained the ships, or that he may have over-rated his distances, or that Santa Cruz may be further from Lima than is shown in the charts; and other explanations which at present they could not make out. If we sailed on the same parallel to the year's end without seeing the sought-for island, it would be understood that we had not passed by it. The Pilot, Juan Bernardo de Fuentidueña, was of the same opinion; his position and that of his assistant not being so far in advance as the others.

The Chief Pilot wishing, for reasons he gave, to make it believed that his position was the right one, asked the Captain to look to the north, where he would see very large and swollen waves, a certain sign that we were much further to the east than was supposed. The Chief Pilot also said that we had been sailing for ninety-four days. The Captain replied that in the former voyage the island of Santa Cruz was sighted after sixty-nine days, and though it was true that we had now been sailing for a long time, there were many nights when the swell was against the ship's progress, and that on many others they had been under very small sail; that there had been detentions of days at the various islands in seeking for ports, and that during nearly all the month of May, in which we were, there had been calms or light winds, while there had not been wanting in other periods of the voyage calm weather or changes of wind, or other causes for waste of time, which reduced the real number of days' runs to sixty-four, and that for sixty-nine there wanted five still, to equalise the two voyages. He himself had taken the sun in the island of Santa Cruz, and he was certain that the latitude was 10° 20′, and that we neither were behind nor in advance.

Presently the Chief Pilot showed on his chart the track he had drawn upon it from Callao to 26°, which the ships reached, the course being nearly W.S.W. It seemed that this was his chief mistake, for he multiplied degrees on the W.S.W. course, which is the direction in which he had to navigate, and he laid down the route by the course, which is the same as by it and by the latitude; when it should have been, for more accuracy, by the estimated leagues and the known latitude. He did not calculate for errors in determining distances in a route from east to west, and their two quarters, caused by the variation of the needle, more or less leeway, winds and sails and other things to be considered, and necessary calculations so as to be

able to mark on the chart the position nearest the truth. This was not the navigation that the Chief Pilot had been accustomed to make. His experience was from Acapulco or Panama to Callao, along the coast, and when out of sight of land, it is a short distance off, and even if it is great, the land is extensive and well known that he had to seek, which, if not seen on one day, will be on the next; and if he does not make a landfall where he intended, he can do so where the coast is known, and find the port he seeks.

Having made a calculation of all that has been said, and laid down what was afterwards found when we came to the port of Acapulco, it was established that there was an error of 600 leagues, as can be proved when necessary. The Captain gave these and other reasons to all, and some to the Chief Pilot, who became agitated, and again went up into his deck-house. Thence he declared that he came to serve the King, and not for pay, and that he had worked hard in fitting out the ships and at other duties. To all this the Captain replied that all present were aware that, without knowing him, nor owing him anything, nor wanting him, but only to do him good he had been taken, but the Captain had seen that, by his inefficiency, it became impossible that he could be any use. Finally, the Chief Pilot showed himself to be ungrateful. The Captain said to him that it was enough to know that it was incredible how much he had said, and that it was not to be hoped from his mind that his work would be well to the point. In fine, in the ship it was said that there was one who did not wish that lands should be discovered, nor that anything should be found; and the Captain, seeing the state of affairs, and the obligation to all, said to the Admiral that he was to take away the Chief Pilot as a prisoner. Presently it was reported to the Captain that the ship was in a state of mutiny, owing to what he had said in public. "Is there one that objects, it being for the

royal service, that I turn the Chief Pilot out of the ship?" One who spoke in his favour was ordered to hold his tongue, being told that the day before he had said just the contrary.

With the departure of the Chief Pilot all his friends were much distressed; but the ship was without those licences and disturbances which had been going on until now.

The Captain said to Pedro Bernal Cermeño that he wished him to remain and assume the office of Chief Pilot, and he went to fetch his clothes from the launch. But his people showed themselves so discontented at his going that, his exhortations not sufficing, he was forced to threaten them. Thus he apparently quieted them, and there remained as Chief Pilot Gaspar Gonzalez de Leza, an honest man and good pilot.

The Captain caused a block to be placed at the yard-arm, and from that time forward he lived with a caution necessary among such villains. He said: "For what evil deeds that I have done do I go sold in this ship, where are some to whom I have done such good deeds, and desire to do more? The great mistake was not to have thought of bringing irons, fetters, and chains from Lima, intending to oblige by faithful treatment and to bring out the good." While the Captain was still in Madrid, he went to see a Friar, Andrés de San Vincente, a Dominican; and he said that, navigating with the Chief Pilot of Ternate to Malacca, the ship he was in was lost; on account of which, and the fault that the passenger caused, and the exigency in which they placed him, he said: "Oh, Captain Quiros, this is your fault, because you did not chastise me for the occasion I gave you, your piety not allowing you."

There were not wanting in the ship those who were tired of her, and they asked the Captain to let them play a little, and that the winnings should be given for the souls in pur-

gatory. But the Captain said to them many times that they would not risk to go on with such new and good work if there was playing and swearing. As for the alms offered from the results of betting, he would not want to take a soul out of purgatory, and set it on the road to Heaven, if it left his and the souls of others in hell; and it would be much better to give, without playing, that which would be given by playing. For passing the time there are very good books, and one who would teach to read, write, and count to those who do not know how; also a master-at-arms, black swords,[1] practised soldiers to teach recruits, and one who would teach them the art of fortification and artillery, the spheres and navigation; and that these pursuits were better than to play for money.

CHAPTER XV.

Relates how they came in sight of the third inhabited island, and what happened there.

STILL with a westerly course we proceeded, with much anxiety arising from the confusion in determining the distance of our ships from the port of Lima, and still more owing to the allowance being so short that neither our thirst was quenched nor our hunger satisfied. At last God sent us a good shower of rain, and plenty of water was collected. The people derived much consolation from this provision of Heaven, and at seeing soon after many snakes, fish found in shallow water, turtles, wild fruit, cocoa-nuts, trunks of trees, land birds, currants, and other signs of the approach of land. We therefore navigated at night under small sail, keeping a good look-out, the lanterns lighted, with the launch ahead, having orders to signal

[1] Probably wooden swords for teaching the drill.

with lights if there were rocks or land. So we continued until the 7th of April. On that day, at three in the afternoon, a man at the mast-head of the *Capitana* cried out: "I see land to the N.W., high and black." The voice sounded well to all; the sails were trimmed, and the bows turned to the land. We lay-to that night, and in the morning we found ourselves on a bank, where the least depth was 12 fathoms. There was a great excitement over this, which lasted during the two hours that it took to cross over the shoal, always sounding, and with the anchors ready and look-out men at the mast-heads to report what they saw.

We arrived near the island, and saw some smoke rising on the north side, which doubled our delight and gave us hopes of getting water, which chiefly engaged our thoughts. Night closed in, and next day the Captain ordered the Admiral, with the launch and a boat, to go and reconnoitre the island, while the ships, at the position where they were, found a port, where they anchored with incredible joy. The Admiral returned in the afternoon, very well satisfied with the appearance of the land, and it was settled that the next day we should seek a better port, fuel, and water.

It was scarcely dawn when the Admiral left the ships with an armed party in the launch and boats, and at a distance of 2 leagues found a village on a small reef. The natives, in great haste, took their women and children inland, and all that they could carry away, while 150 of them took their arms. One came forward shouting—it was not understood for what purpose,—a musket was fired off merely to astonish them, and when they heard it they all dived into the water except the first native. This man came near us, and by signs told us not to fire, and that he would make his people put down their bows and arrows; so this was done on both sides. He came to the boats, and gave his hand to the Admiral in token of friendship, giving

him to understand, by pointing to his head, that he was the lord of the land, and that he was called Tumai, and by another name—Jalique.

Presently another native came and looked at us with astonishment, and we looked at him with no less care: owing to his colour being so white, and so brown as regards beard and hair, that our people called him "the Fleming." His name was Olan.

The Admiral asked Tumai to order the natives not to shoot their arrows, and to go away from there, that his men might land. At one word from Tumai they all went away to the island, and he alone remained. Then our people landed peacefully, before anything else forming a *corps de garde* in one of the houses, placing sentinels in appropriate places, and the rest lodged in the village.

By signs Tumai showed the Admiral his houses, and asked him not to set them or the others on fire. He further said that he would assist and give what his island contained. The Admiral showed him great friendship; and, the better to impress him with it, he dressed him in shot silk,[1] which he seemed to value highly. Presently a boat was sent to report to the Captain all that had taken place, and that there was a very good watering-place near the village. The ships should shift their berths to a port much nearer, and the launch anchored still nearer the village, between the land and a rock.

When the ships were anchored, all the friars landed and went to the village; and at the request of the Captain they performed the First Mass of Our Lady of Loreto, with a commemoration of St. Peter. The natives, while they were saying Mass, were present, very attentive on their knees, beating their breasts, and doing everything they saw the Christians do. It is certainly a great pity, when one comes

[1] "Tafetan tornasol."

to think of it, with what facility all the people of those parts would receive the Faith if there was any one to teach them; and yet what a great perdition there is of such a vast number of souls as are condemned here! God will be best served if the time is made to come very quickly that will bring the blessing of blessings, of which these people are so ignorant, of others so desired.

Next day, at the request of Tumai, the Admiral sent him to the ship with a soldier, that he might tell the Captain that the Chief had come to see him, and who he was. The Captain received him with a cheerful countenance, and embraced him, and Tumai gave him the kiss of peace on his cheek. They were seated in the gallery, and the table was got ready that he might eat. But he declined to eat anything, though he was pressed to do so.

The Commissary was present; and that Tumai might understand that he was a person to be respected, the Captain kissed his hand, and told Tumai that he should do the same, which he did.

The Captain asked Tumai whether he had seen ships or people like us. He gave it to be understood that he had not, but that he had received reports about them. He was asked about the volcano that had been seen in the former voyage, and he said, by signs with fire, that it was five days' voyage to the west, and that in his language it was called "Mami," and that there the Island of Santa Cruz was near and in sight, the native name of which was "Indeni." The Captain also told him of the death inflicted upon the Chief Malope during the other voyage, and of the head which the Adelantado Mendaña sent as payment, as may be read in the account of the voyage.[1] It was understood that this was the reason why he and all his people showed themselves to be so alarmed when they saw arquebuses, and explained their knowledge of ships and people like us.

[1] See pp. 81 and 85.

The Captain further asked Tumai whether he knew of other lands far or near, inhabited or uninhabited. For this he pointed to his island, then to the sea, then to various points of the horizon; and having explained by these signs, he began counting on his fingers as many as sixty islands, and a very large land, which he called "Manicolo." The Captain wrote down the names, having the compass before him, for noting the bearing of each island from the one where they were, called "Taumaco," to S.W., S.S.W., and N.W. To explain which were small islands, Tumai made small circles, and for larger ones larger circles; while for the large land he opened both his arms and hands without making them meet. To explain which were the distant islands, and which were nearer, he pointed to the sun, then rested his head on his hand, shut his eyes, and with his fingers counted the number of nights one had to sleep on the voyage. In a similar way he explained which people were white, black, or mulattos; which were mixed, which friendly, which hostile. He gave it to be understood that in one island they ate human flesh, by biting his arm, and indicated that he did not like such people. In this way and in others it appeared that what he said was understood. He repeated it many times until he was tired, and, pointing towards the S.W., W., and other parts, he gave it to be well understood how many more lands there were. He then showed a desire to return to his house, and the Captain, the more to please him, gave him things brought for barter, and he departed after embraces and other tokens of love.

Next day the Captain went to the village where our people were, and in order to corroborate what Tumai had said, he assembled the natives on the beach. Holding a paper in his hand, with the compass before him, he began asking them all once and many times respecting the lands to which Tumai had given names, and all agreed. They gave tidings of other inhabited islands, and also of that

great land. Other persons, on that day and at other times, put the same questions to the natives, and always with the same result, so that it appeared that these people were truthful. They were much astonished at seeing one reading a paper, and, taking it in their hands, they looked at it in front and behind.

One day the natives were seen eating certain pieces of meat, and they were asked cautiously what it was. That they might be understood, they showed a piece of raw hide with the hair on, and one put his hands on his head, intending it to be understood, with other very intelligible signs, that in those great lands there were cows and buffalo; and when they were shown pearls on the button of a rosary, they said they had them.

They liked much to see us place our guard. They showed themselves well contented at the way they were treated. All they gave was eaten without scruple, and all they were given was taken with good will. They established great friendship with each of our people that they took a fancy to, exchanging names, calling them comrades, and treating them as if their acquaintance had been of long standing. It came to such a point that some of our people went alone to their villages without causing any offence, or any of our things being missed, such as our clothes left in the streams where they were being washed, or pots and copper kettles.

An agreement was made with Tumai about wood and water for the ships, all which he sent with great good will—as much as we needed—by natives in canoes. Some concealed themselves, others went on board and asked for bells, which they esteemed very much, and other things that were given them, with which they returned contented.

Tumai was lord of this and other islands. His age was fifty; a man with a good body and face, handsome eyes, well-formed nose, colour rather brown, beard and hair

turning grey. He was grave and sedate, prudent and wise in what he did, and what he promised he performed. Once he wanted to go to a village, to see two women he had there. He asked leave, and left one of his sons as a hostage.

CHAPTER XVI.

Gives an account of this island, of the people, their food and canoes, and of our departure from it.

THE native name for this island is Taumaco. It received the name of Nuestra Señora del Socorro in memory of the succour found there.[1] It is in latitude 10° 20′. Its circumference is 10 leagues, more or less. It is moderately high and well wooded. For this reason, and its shape, the view of it is pleasant. It runs east and west. Along its beaches there are many palm groves, villages with few houses, and a quantity of canoes. It is distant from Lima 1,650[2] leagues. On the east side there are three pointed rocks, which are only bare when the wind is E. or N.E., and between them and the island is the port where we anchored first. It has 25 fathoms of depth. The second anchorage is on the south side of the island, west of a rock which is under water, depth 18 fathoms, with bottom of rough coral, which chafes cables, so that ours were buoyed. It is without shelter; and for this reason, and the high seas that rise, we lay at single anchor, and in some anxiety and danger.

The village of Tumai is on the south side, a little apart from the island, and surrounded by water, so we called it Venice. They cannot embark in or land from their canoes,

[1] Torres and Torquemada give the native name. Leza calls the island "*Nuestra Señora de Loreto.*" In the Memorial the name is "*Monterey*," after the Viceroy of Peru.

[2] Torres gives 1940 leagues (169° 45′ E.). Latitude, 10° 10′ S.

except when it is high water. It has in front, at a distance of an arquebus-shot, a small valley with fruit trees, crops, and a small stream of very clear and wholesome water, whence was got that which was taken on board. The houses are large and clean, framed with wood, the roof of sweet canes covered with palm leaves, with two or three low doors, and the floors covered with reeds. The beds are of matting, with stools somewhat curved to put the heads on. There are larger houses, and in them certain canoes with large and well-carved trunks, with decks of plank, and very strongly fastened with beams and poles. These go down on one side until they reach the water,[1] acting as a counterpoise to prop up, enabling them to carry more sail. The joinings of the vessel are cemented together with a certain gum which is found here, that burns like a candle when set on fire, and oils well. The inside has a small cabin or retreat, in which all the provisions are kept when at sea. The bows were ornamented with pearl shells, and close by were the paddles, rigging, ropes, and large mat sails. Each canoe will hold thirty or forty persons. There was also an open space with certain poles, some of them dyed red, for which the natives have great respect, cloths, matting, and cocoa-nuts being collected there. It was understood to be a burying-place of some of their chief people, or a place where the Devil speaks to them.

The island yields roots and fruits, such as yams, cocoa-nuts, plantains, sweet canes, and some very large almonds, whose pips are formed of leaves. They are sweet and very pleasant to eat. The nutmegs are only used by the natives as a paste to dye their arrows. Other fruits were seen and eaten, and a small pig. They do not eat the hens. They killed ten or a dozen cocks, but they hid the hens. A small dog was seen. We found a ball of *artimonia*, and it was

[1] Outriggers.

ascertained that they make them to fight with, fastened to the ends of sticks, serving as maces.

The natives are tall as a rule, straight, vigorous, well-favoured, of a clear mulatto colour more or less, others very close upon being black. There may be some who have come from other islands by way of contract, or as prisoners. Some of them work. They cover their parts with cloths they weave at small looms. They use the *buyo*, food also used in the Philippines, which is said to preserve the teeth and strengthen the stomach. Their arms are bows and arrows. They seem to be a people fond of fighting with natives of other islands; two of them were wounded and bruised from this. They told our people that they would go to help and to avenge the others who had been hit with arrows. One gave us to understand that he was a surgeon.

Two leagues to the west there is another island, inhabited, and apparently about the same size as Taumaco. It is called Temelflua. To the N.E. of it, at a short distance, are two small islands, rather rocky.

The ships being ready, the Admiral received orders to embark, taking some natives with the objects already stated. The Admiral sent Tumai in advance, the Captain having sent for him to take leave. Tumai and two others were in a canoe talking with the Captain, who gave them a sash and other things, when the boats arrived with our people and four natives, who had been seized, so that Tumai might not see them. But they saw Tumai, and cried out to him to help them. Tumai, seeing that there was no remedy, was deaf to their cries, and for his own safety he shoved off from the ship. The Captain fired a piece as a signal for the launch to weigh. The two companions of Tumai then jumped into the water, and swam on shore. Tumai remained without showing any fear. This man was valorous, and his kindness was worthy to be celebrated and

to eternize his name, and his sorrow mourned for. Our people embarked with two natives in each ship, the anchors were weighed, and sail was made at sunset on Tuesday, the 18th of April, running great danger of striking on a rock.

CHAPTER XVII.

Another inhabited island is sighted, and it is related how three natives escaped from the ships, and other things that happened.

THE ships were pursuing their course, when a certain person from the *Almiranta* shouted to the Captain that they should go in search of the Island of Santa Cruz. The Captain answered that the ships had to put their heads, as they were now put, to the S.E., with the intention of following that and other courses, for they now had sufficient wood and water to enable them to find what they were seeking. God had given us a N.W. wind, one as well suited for that intention as it sounds.

We stood on under little sail, for it was night, and the sea unknown, when towards dawn one of the natives sprang into the sea. He was a youth, but tall and vigorous, of good countenance and gentle bearing, whom the Captain prized highly for the ship. The sailors called as if he could understand them: "Come back to the ship; do not drown yourself. See how the Devil deceives him! Why should you lose so much good as surrounds you here?" But as his intention was different, not caring for words so little understood, he went on swimming to the island, which appeared to be about 3 leagues off.

We went on our way, and in the afternoon of the third day we saw an island at a distance. We hove to for the night, and made sail towards it at daybreak. When we were near the land, the other native, also quite young

and not less gay and well disposed, before he could be prevented, jumped overboard, and there remained, as if he was a buoy. At the place where he was, not caring for cries and menaces, with great effrontery, as if he was standing in the water, he took off a shirt he had on, and with incredible speed began swimming to the island, which he would soon reach, being near and to leeward. The Admiral was advised of the flight of the natives, that he might keep a closer watch over the two he had on board.

Only with the object of finding out whether the island was inhabited, we coasted along it. Presently, on an extensive beach, we saw natives running to join others who were looking at us. The Admiral got into the dingey to see what sort of people they were. The natives made signs, with great demonstrations of love, for us to come on shore. Seeing we would not for all their pressing, they gave a mantle of fine palm leaves and notice of other lands, and bade farewell with great signs of regret. We left them in that solitude, gazing at our ships, until we lost sight of them.

Our people were much pleased at the sight of the island, and still more to see such fine-looking people: but suddenly one of the two natives on board the *Almiranta*, a tall, robust, and strong man, jumped into the sea, and soon was a long way off. They lowered the dingey, but the Captain fired a piece off as a signal that they were not to go after the fugitive, the boat being small and easily capsized. The resolute swimmer went on towards the island with vigorous strokes, being 2 leagues off and to windward.

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[1] Torres calls it "*Chucupia.*" The Memorial has "*Tucopia.*" Quiros gives the latitude 12° 15′ S.; Torres, 12° 30′ S. Undoubtedly, the Tucopia of modern charts, in 12° 15′ S. and 169° 50′ E.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Relates how, by reason of a strong wind from the N.W., the sea ran across the track of the ships, and how they sighted a high island.

WITH great regret at the loss of the three best natives, though the one that remained was more free (being the same the Captain pointed out with his finger when they were seized), we proceeded on a S.E. course, with a fresh N.W. breeze, until the following day. The wind increased in force with thick weather, with flights of birds, and the night approaching, so we struck the topmasts and hove to until the 24th of April. On that day the sun was taken, and it was found that we were in 14°, the ship having drifted 20 leagues. In the afternoon, the weather having cleared up, the Captain ordered sail to be made, and when he was asked what the course was to be, he answered: "Put the ships' heads where they like, for God will guide them as may be right;" and as it was S.W., he said it might continue so. So on that course, with little sail, we steered during the night. Before sunrise on the following day, a sailor of the *Capitana* named Francisco Rodriguez went to the mast-head, and cried in a cheerful voice: "Very high land ahead!" We all wanted to see it, and all looked at it together with great contentment. Much greater was their satisfaction when they came close, and saw smoke, and natives calling to the launch to come nearer.

This island was calculated to be 1,700 leagues from Lima. It is 7 or 8 leagues in circumference, forms a round hill, abrupt near the sea, the highest and best-formed I have seen. Its shape is that of a sugar-loaf with the crown cut off. It is cut like a saddle, whence a good stream of water falls into the sea. We saw crops growing, plantains, palms, and other trees. The inhabitants appeared to be of a good colour, and well made. The people were on the N.W. side

where, at a short distance from the shore, there is a bare rock. The latitude of this land is 14°, and it was named San Marcos,[1] because it was discovered on that Saint's day.

CHAPTER XIX.

Tells how a great land was sighted, and other islands.

FROM this Island of San Marcos we went on a S.W. course, with men at the mast-head; and at 10 in the forenoon, at a distance of 12 leagues to the S.E., a land of many mountains and plains was sighted, the end of which could not be seen throughout the day. The Captain gave it the name of "Margaritana."

About 20 leagues to the west, an island was seen that looked so beautiful that it was determined to go to it. About a third of the way we saw another island, 3 leagues off. It is flat, with a hill that looks like a rock in the distance. Two canoes under sail came from it, from which we knew that it was inhabited. On account of its thick woods and pleasant appearance, the name of "Verjel" was given to it. There was little wind, and, on account of the necessary caution in navigating among unknown islands, we hove to during the night.

The other day, being the 27th, we saw to the N. of where we were a large island running N.E. and S.W., and the peaks of its numerous mountains gave the Captain a strong desire to go and see it; but he gave it up, owing to other things that occurred. Its latitude is 13°, and it was named "Las Lagrimas da San Pedro."

To the N.W. another island was seen, with a circumference of 60 leagues. It has two high and sloping hills, one

[1] Torres calls it a very high volcano. Torquemada gives the name of "*Nuestra Señora de la Luz*." The Memorial has "*San Marcos*." It is the *Pic de l'Etoile* of Bougainville. The volcano is now extinct. Latitude, 14° 25′ S. "*Merlav*," or "*Star Peak*," on modern charts.

at each end. The rest is flat and of very pleasant appearance, alike from its shape and its numerous trees. Its latitude is less than 14°. It was named "Portales de Belen."

CHAPTER XX.

Gives an account of what passed with some natives at an island.

NEXT day we arrived near the island which I said was to the westward of that of San Marcos, and in all directions we saw columns of smoke rising, and at night many fires. In the centre it is rather high, and thence its slopes extend in all directions towards the sea, so that its form is a massive round, with only the part towards the south a little broken with ravines. It is a land of many palm trees, plantains, verdure, abundant water, and thickly inhabited. The circumference is about 50 leagues, though some gave it 100 leagues, and must support about 200,000 inhabitants. Its latitude is 14° 30′. Owing to its great beauty, it was given the name of "Virgen Maria."[1]

Four canoes with unarmed natives came to the *Almiranta*, and made signs to offer to take him into port. Seeing that our people did not wish it, they made presents of cocoanuts and other fruits. Having received a good return, they went back to their island.

As the disposition of the natives seemed to be good, the Captain sent a party in the launch and one boat, to examine the coast and find a port. The party was under the command of Pedro Lopez de Sojo. They found to the S. and S.E. clean bottom at 20 fathoms or less, where the ships might well anchor if the weather to be expected was known. They saw a great number of people on the island, who came out to see and call to us. They followed the

[1] Torres has "*Santa Maria*." It is the "*Gaua*" of modern chart in the Banks Group.

boat without passing certain boundaries, and by this we supposed that there were partitions of property between people not on good terms. Among them there were two colours. While they were looking at each other and talking by signs, a man rushed down from some rocks behind. He was well made, of a clear mulatto colour, the hairs of his beard and head brown and crisp, and rather long. He was robust and vigorous. With a jump he got into the boat, and, according to the signs he made, he appeared to ask: "Where do you come from? What do you want? What do you seek?" Assuming that these were the questions, one of our people said "We come from the east, we are Christians, we seek you, and we want you to be ours." He showed himself to be so bold, that our people understood that he wanted to make us believe that to him we were a small affair. He presently was undeceived, for he was seized and brought to the ship, where he came on board so fearlessly that we had to confess he was no coward. The Captain embraced him, and asked about other land by signs, of which he appeared to give extensive information. He pointed to several places on the horizon, counted on his fingers several times, and ended by saying, "Martin Cortal."[1] It was very pleasant to hear him, to see how lively he was, how vigorous, how agreeable among our people; having a bright look for all, including those who importuned him with a desire for information.

The night having come on, the launch arrived, and the Pilot of her told the Captain that they were bringing a native prisoner, secured by a hatchway chain. But he broke it; and, taking part of it and the padlock with him on one foot, he jumped overboard. The Captain heard

[1] Martin Lope Cortal was Pilot of Lopez de Legazpi's ship on the voyage from Mexico to the Philippines, and he afterwards made a voyage to Mexico without licence. He and some companions landed at islands called Barbudos, and the ship left them there. That this native should have used these words is extraordinary.

this with great regret, fearing that the man had been drowned. To make sure of the other, he ordered him to be given his supper and to be put in the stocks, but on a bed where he could sleep. He also ordered that the ships should go in search of the one that had escaped. Going in search at ten at night, the look-out man heard a voice from the water, and made out the place where the native, being tired out, was struggling with death. To the cries of the swimmer came answer from the prisoner, in such doleful tones that it caused grief to all to see the one and hear the other. The swimmer was got on board, to the joy of himself and us, and to our surprise that he could have sustained such a weight on his foot for four hours. The padlock and chain were at once taken off, and he was given his supper, with wine to drink, and then put in the stocks, that he might not try it on again. There both remained all night, talking sadly and in confusion. At dawn, the Captain, pretending that he quarreled with all for putting them in the stocks, let them out. He then ordered the barber to shave off their beards and hair, except one tuft on the side of their heads. He also ordered their finger-nails and toe-nails to be cut with scissors, the uses of which they admired. He caused them to be dressed in silk of divers colours, gave them hats with plumes, tinsel, and other ornaments, knives, and a mirror, into which they looked with caution.

This done, the Captain had them put into the boat, and told Sojo to take them on shore, coasting along to the end of the island, to see what there was beyond. The natives came, and, the fear being passed, they sang their happy and unhoped-for fate. Arrived at the beach, they were told to jump out, which they could hardly believe. Finally, they jumped overboard, where there were many natives; among them a woman with a child in her arms, who received the two with great joy. It appeared that she was

the wife of the first native, and that he was a chief, for all respected and obeyed his orders. They seemed to be contented, and gave each other many embraces, with gentle murmurings. The Chief, pointing with his finger, seemed to be saying we were a good people. Many came to where the boat was, and they showed such confidence that, when one of our men asked the mother for her baby, she gave it. Seeing that it was passed from one to another, to be seen and embraced, the natives were well pleased. In fine, a good understanding was established.

The swimmer ran away, and presently came back with a pig on his shoulders, which he offered to us. The Chief gave us another, and a bunch of curious plantains, their shape being like that of moderate-sized egg-plants[1] without points, the pulp orange colour, sweet and tender. The other natives emulously presented cocoa-nuts, sweet canes, and other fruits, and water in joints of cane four *palmos* long and one thick. Pointing to the ships, they seemed to say that they should anchor here, that they might give them all they had in the island. Our people took their leave and went on to the point, where they saw the coast of the island trending north, and the other island of Belen at a distance of 4 leagues to the N.W. Satisfied with their view, they returned to the ship. The boatswain's mate of the *Almiranta* was wounded in one cheek by an arrow: certain natives, being envious of the friendship of the others, or being enraged because, when they called to our people they did not care to stop and speak with them, shot off arrows, and had an answer from muskets. This wound healed quickly, by which we knew that the arrows were not poisoned. More mischief would have been done if the swimmer had not come running, shouting, and making signs for the boat to keep away—a great proof of gratitude.

[1] Egg-plant nightshade, *Solanum melongena*, L.

CHAPTER XXI.

Relates how they came in sight of two great and lofty lands; how they went in search of one of them, and discovered a bay, and a port in it.

THIS day one Melchor de los Reyes was looking out at the mast-head, when, at three in the afternoon, he saw at a distance of 12 leagues to the S.W. and S., more or less, an extensive land. For this, and because the eye could not turn to a point that was not all land, the day was the most joyful and the most celebrated day of the whole voyage. We went on towards the land, and next day found ourselves near a coast running to the west. The name of Cardona[1] was given to this land in memory of the Duke of Sesa, who had taken so deep an interest in the voyage, as well at Rome as at the Court of Spain, and because the Captain felt very grateful.

When we set out for the said land there was seen, far away to the S.E., a massive and very lofty chain of mountains, covered with thick masses of white clouds in the middle and on the heights, while the bases were clear. It seemed from aloft that the coasts of these two lands approached to form one. The Captain gave the name of "La Clementina" to this range of mountains. It seemed to be in about 17°.[2]

Having come to the land, an opening was seen in it, and, as it appeared to be a port, the Captain sent an officer in a boat, with soldiers and rowers, to examine it. In the afternoon he returned, reporting that the opening formed a narrow island 6 leagues long, running N. and S., rather high,

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[1] The name of the Duke of Sesa was Don Antonio de Cardona y Cordova. See pp. 163 and 168.

[2] *Cardona* and *La Clementina*, looking like a range of mountains and main land, were the islands of Pentecost, Aurora, and Leper, overlapping each other.

inhabited, and well wooded; and where it is sheltered to the E. and N.E., there was bottom at 30 fathoms, and a strong current. The Captain gave it the name of "San Raimundo."

Coasting along this island to the W., there came out on the beach many tawny men, very tall, with bows in their hands, calling loudly to our people. As we would not approach, they threw a great bundle of capons' feathers into the sea, intending with this, and by sending out boys, to induce us to come within shot. Then they shot off their arrows, which we returned with muskets. Further on they saw many natives of fine make and good colour, and away to S. and S.E. three and four ranges of very high mountains, which seemed to join on to the other ranges that had been seen to the S.E.

With such good news that the land was inhabited, we sailed onwards on a westward course; and at a distance of 6 leagues, on the 1st of May, we entered a great bay, where we passed the night. Next day, the Captain sent the Admiral away in a boat to look for a port. Two canoes came out to the ships, with men in them, having their bows ready. They stopped for an interval and rowed for another. They spoke loudly, and looked at us and at the shore, showing themselves to be troubled. Those in the launch fired off a piece to astonish them, which it did, for they took to flight, rowing as hard as they could.

The Admiral returned in the afternoon very well satisfied, and those who accompanied him were equally pleased, and could not hold back the joyful news that they had found a good port; for this is what we had hitherto failed to find, though we had sought for one with anxious wishes to succeed. Without a port, the discovery would be of little importance. Next day, being the 3rd of May, the three vessels anchored in the port with great joy, giving many thanks to God.

CHAPTER XXII.

Relates the first sight of the natives of this bay, and an encounter there was with them.

NEXT day natives were seen passing along the beach. The Captain, with the boats, went to look at them, with the desire to take some of them and send them back clothed and kindly treated, so that in this and other ways friendship might be established. He did all he could to induce them to get into the boats. They did the same to get us to land. As we would not, they flung certain fruits into the water, which were collected by us, and we went back to the ships.

The day after, the Captain ordered the Admiral to go on shore with a party of soldiers, and try by all possible means to catch some natives, so as to establish peace and friendship, based on the good work we intended to do for them. The party ran the boat high up on the beach, and quickly formed in a squadron, for the natives were coming, and it was not known with what object. Being near, they made signs and spoke, but were not understood. Our people called to them in return. Then the natives drew a line on the ground, and seemed to say that we were not to pass beyond it. I understand that there was no one who could make himself intelligible; and it is a great evil, on such occasions, when there is a want of zeal or of management. Natives were seen in the woods, and to frighten them some muskets were fired into the air. A soldier who had lost patience, or who had forgotten his orders, fired low and killed a native. The others, with loud cries, fled. A Moor who was the drummer, cut off the head and one foot of the dead, and hung the body on the branch of a tree, without being seen to do it by those on the beach. It then hap-

pened that three native chiefs came to where our people were, who, instead of showing them kindness and bringing them on board, showed them their comrade without a head and running blood, pretending that this cruelty was a means of making peace. The chiefs, showing great sorrow, went back to where their people were, and shortly afterwards sounded their instruments with great force and noise, which was heard among the trees. Then from many directions they began shooting arrows and darts, and throwing stones, while our people fired on them, turning on one side or the other.

The Captain saw all this from the ship where he was, with great regret to find peace turned into war. It appeared to him best to land more men in the direction taken by a number of natives, who were trying to surround our people. The supporting party got into such conflict with the enemy that the Captain was obliged to fire two pieces. The balls, tearing branches off the trees, passed over the natives; but with this, and the resistance made by our soldiers, the enemy retired.

At the same time, the natives who were on the beach moved forward, brandishing their clubs, and with arrows fitted to their bows and darts poised to throw, menacing with loud shouts. Then a tall old native advanced, making a sound on a shell with great force. He seemed to be the same chief who had spoken to our soldiers, and I believe he said that they would defend their country against those who came to it, killing their inhabitants. Eight of our musketeers were in ambush, and one of them unfortunately, as he afterwards stated, killed this chief; and presently the rest desisted. Three or four raised their dead on their shoulders with great celerity, and went inland, leaving the neighbouring villages deserted. Such was the end of the peace that the Captain hoped for and sought for, as the means of discovering the grandeur of the land,

and all that was contained in it; and such was the intention that the Captain had, but which was but a sound.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Relates the causes which led the Captain to create a ministry of war, and the names of the officers.

THE Lord having been served that the Captain should find anchorage for his ships in so long sought-for, so good, and so necessary a port, seeing the excellence of the land which surrounded it, the necessity there was to take possession in the name of His Majesty, feeling the contest in his mind that his desires should be fulfilled, that there should be full security for celebrating the divine offices, and that for this and the rest that had been done here there was manifest risk, for the natives with their arms, from the woods and the beaches, continually attacked, so that we could not seek for wood, water, or provisions, or fell timber for the ship's use to make certain bulk-heads for storing and arranging the cargo; seeing, also, how much it imported that the roads should be guarded by escorts, and that there should be ambuscades to alarm the enemy and secure our safety; knowing further that for the royal authority, the better establishment of the work, the discipline of the people, the union of all their wills, and for other hidden reasons, and for them altogether, it was very necessary and obligatory to create a ministry of war and marine, so that by land and sea there might be established such order that what was desired might be the better secured; and that it may not be a cost of His Majesty, and be the means of giving satisfaction, and of making a foundation, and they themselves having petitioned for it, he named—

To act as Admiral . .	PEDRO BERNAL CERMEÑO.
Master of the Camp . .	LUIS VAEZ DE TORRES.
Royal Ensign . .	LUCAS DE QUIROS.
Captain and Sergeant-Major	PEDRO LOPEZ DE SOJO.
His Ensign .	PEDRO DE CASTRO.
His Sergeant .	FRANCISCO MARTIN TOSCANO.
His Aide-de-Camp	FRANCISCO DAVILA.
Captain of the crew of the "Almiranta" . .	ALONSO ALVAREZ DE CASTRO.
His Ensign .	MANUEL RODRIGUEZ AFRICANO.
His Sergeant .	DOMINGO ANDRES.
Captain of the Launch .	PEDRO GARCIA DA LUMBRERAS.
His Ensign .	FRANCISCO GALLARDO.
His Sergeant .	ANTONIO GONZALEZ.
Captain of the Artillery .	ANDRES PEREZ CORONADO.
Constables of the three Vessels	FRANCISCO PONCE.
	LAZARO DE OLIVERA.
	ANTONIO BALALAN.
Chief Pilot . . .	GASPAR GONZALEZ DE LEZA.
Assistant Pilot . .	FRANCISCO FERNANDEZ.

These elections having been made, presently the Camp Master asked the Captain to leave him to sleep on shore with the people. The Captain never wished to consent, because they should not sleep on the ground, and because he did not wish for further licence with the natives, and to avoid danger, and for other reasons which they could understand.

The Master of the Camp, with the Sergeant-Major, officers, and sailors, who were serving as soldiers, made such good progress on shore that by Friday, the eve of Pentecost, they finished all that had been arranged, without injury to any of our people.

On the same afternoon the Captain assembled the people of all the vessels, and addressed them in the following manner:—

"His Majesty, the King, our Lord, was served by sending me, at the cost of his royal treasury, without giving me instructions or orders, nor other memoir whatever, of what I was to do in these parts, nor did he restrict

my will as to what I was not to do; therefore, in the name of the royal grandeur, I undertake what is best for His Majesty's better service, and greater honour. In fine, all is left to my charge; and this mercy was so great, that it has made me his perpetual vassal and slave, and put upon me new obligations and cares to find how I can better serve and please His Majesty so long as my life lasts. For this I am of a mind, and determined to make a beginning of my honourable thought, some time planned and desired to be put into execution; for the good work that it promises for God and for the King, for the strengthening of your resolves, for giving firmness and hope, which are the qualities needed to achieve great and famous deeds, the more when the honour and the reward are to be seen and palpable: which are two things so sought after and loved in this present life, and the want of which causes what happens to be evil.

"The present subject to be announced to you, gentlemen, is that of an Order, the title of which is to be the 'Knights of the Holy Ghost,' with the constitutions and precepts to be kept and professed, guided by such lofty and Christian ends as will be seen in them when the Lord is served, as I shall be able to show. All is done in confidence that His Holiness and His Majesty, each of those two Lords as regards what concerns them, will be served in payment of my continual labours and good desires, by confirming this Order, with advantageous privileges, as long as the world endures: as well for the good that it secures as for the merits of vassals so honourable and so loyal, as is shown by the numerous services they perform, and will continue to perform, in these parts.

"For all I have said and can say on this subject, I seek from all the consent of their free wills, in the names of the Most Holy Trinity, in the name of the Roman Pontiff, in the name of His Catholic Majesty the King, Don Philip,

third of that name, King of Spain, and my Lord; and I, the Captain Don Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, give to each one of your mercies this cross, of a blue colour, which presently you are to place on your breasts, being the insignia by which the Knights of the Order of the Holy Ghost are to be known; and for the persons in whose charge, if I should fail, is to be placed the discovery, pacification, and possession of all these parts that we are discovering and may discover in the time to come.

"I pray heartily that the Knights may know and esteem the value of this cross, gained with a determination to win much higher honours; and they must bear in mind that, though it has not cost much money, labour, sickness, nor time, that which it remains in their power to pay in this very high enterprise is very great, for it is now known that the enterprise holds a world for its heaven and its earth.

"Pray to God, gentlemen, that it may serve Him to show me greater lands and other things; for greater are my desires that the King our Lord may deign to grant to all still greater favours. Here I, in his royal name, offer to raise you to higher offices and dignities. I charge you all to be, as it were, members of one body; and I announce to you that from this day forward your obligations will be greater, and the rewards or punishments greater which are merited for good or for bad deeds."

All this was listened to with much pleasure and accepted with satisfaction. The Captain asked them all to confess on Saturday, that on Sunday, the day of Pentecost, they might earn the Holy Jubilee which His Holiness had conceded to this expedition, and five other days in each year. Presently the Father Commissary persuaded all, and with his three priests he offered to confess, and all confessed.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Describes the celebration of the feast of the eve and the day of Pentecost, and the taking possession in the names of the Catholic Church, and of His Majesty.

ON that night all three vessels displayed many lights, and they sent off many rockets and fire-wheels. All the artillery was fired off; and when the natives heard the noise and the echoes resounding over hills and valleys, they raised great shouts. We sounded drums, rang the bells, had music and dancing, and had other forms of rejoicing, in which the men showed great pleasure. The Captain said to all: "Gentlemen, this is the eve of my long-desired day, for which there should be no empty hand nor person for whom the appointed good things are not welcome, and as much more as the part he takes may deserve."

It was not quite dawn when the Camp Master and ministers, taking with them an armed party in the two boats, went on shore. They landed near the launch with four small pieces to be used in a fort. Presently, with joyous diligence a booth made of branches was set up on the beach, surrounded by stakes, to serve as a fort in case of necessity. Within, the monks arranged a clean and well-ordered altar under a canopy. This was the first church, and was named by the Captain "Our Lady of Loreto." Everything having been arranged as well as the time would allow, it was reported to the Captain, and presently he left the ship with the rest of the people. All the three companies were drawn up in good order on the beach. The officers and soldiers looked so active and honourable, with the crosses on their breasts, that I believe, if His Majesty could see them, with such sharpened resolves to finish what they had commenced, and to begin much greater things, that he would

estimate their value at what it was worth, and increase his bounties.

The Royal Ensign came forth with the standard in his hands. The banners, which were fluttering and brightening the whole scene, received their tribute from discharges of muskets and arquebuses. Presently the Captain came out and went down on his knees, saying: "To God alone be the honour and the glory." Then, putting his hand on the ground, he kissed it, and said: "O Land! sought for so long, intended to be found by many, and so desired by me!"

Then the Admiral came out with a cross made of the orange wood of the country, which the Captain had caused to be made. Our Father Commissary, with his five monks, all bare-footed, kneeling on the beach, received it in their arms, saying with great tenderness: "I adore thee, O Holy Cross, for the Author of our life, made flesh, died on thee for me, so great a sinner, and for the whole human race." Raising it and singing the "*Lignum*," with the people in procession, we arrived at the door of the church; and there, on a pedestal which had been placed for the purpose, the Captain planted our cross, and ordered that the people should come round, and that the secretary should read, as in a loud voice he did read, the following documents:—

Raising of the Cross.

Be witnesses the heavens and the earth, and the sea with all its inhabitants, and those who are present, that I, the Captain Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, in these parts which up to the present time have been unknown, raise and plant in the name of Jesus Christ, Son of the eternal Father, and of the Holy Virgin Mary, true God and man, this sign of the Holy Cross, on which His most holy body was crucified, and where He gave His life as a ransom for the whole human race.

In the same place, and at the same time, the six following possessions were read, which our people heard with joy and gladness, the eyes of many filling with tears.

Possession in the name of the most Holy Trinity.

In these parts of the South, until now unknown, where I am, and have come with authority from the Supreme Roman Pontiff, Clement VIII., and by order of the King, Don Philip III., King of Spain, despatched by his Council of State, I, Captain Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, in the name of the most Holy Trinity, take possession of all the islands and lands that I have newly discovered, and desire to discover, as far as the South Pole.

Possession in the name of the Catholic Church.

I take possession of all these, the said lands, in the name of Jesus Christ, saviour of all men, how unknown soever they may be, and in the name of His mother the most Holy Virgin Mother of Loreto, and in the name of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of all the holy apostles and disciples, and in the name of the universal Vicar of Christ, the Roman Pontiff, and in the name of the whole Catholic Church, and of all those pious, just, and holy things that have a right in such possession; which I do with joy and to the end that to all the natives, in all the said lands, the holy and sacred evangel may be preached zealously and openly.

Possession in the name of St. Francis and his Order.

I take possession of all the said lands in the name of my father, St. Francis, and of all his religion and professors of it, and being present, in the name of the Father Commissary, Friar Martin de Monilla, Friar Mateo de Vascones, Friar Antonio Quintero, and Friar Juan de Marlo, all four priests; and in the names of Fray Juan de Santa Maria and Fray Francisco Lopez, both lay brethren, come here, all six, at my request by order of His Holiness and of His Majesty, and of their Commissary General and Provincial of the province of the Twelve Apostles of Peru; from whose order I desire that all the workers sent to tend this vineyard may come, and the labourers who have to show His holy word and doctrine, and to gather in the fruits.

Possession in the name of John of God and his Order.

I take possession of all the said lands in the name of John of God, and of all the professed brothers of his Order, and, being present, in the name of Lazaro de Santa Maria, who came here in compliance with a brief of His Holiness, given to me for that end, that the same Brotherhood might found, administer, and maintain by their professed charity all the hospitals there may be in those parts, so necessary that the natives may learn all our methods, and hold us in the love and veneration which the sight of our curing the native sick, and giving them other benefits, deserve.

Possession in the name of the Order of the Holy Ghost.

I take possession of all these lands, by the right that His Holiness and His Majesty granted, to make just divisions of the lands and of the people on them; for all the Knights that are in these parts of the Order of the Holy Ghost as discoverers, settlers, defenders, and preservers, and no other, obliged without pay to serve in all the royal and public employments, with every human and divine office as regards the natives as their defenders, and with profession of all the rest that is in their constitution.

Possession in the name of His Majesty.

Finally, I take possession of this bay, named the Bay of St. Philip and St. James, and of its port named Santa Cruz, and of the site on which is to be founded the city of New Jerusalem, in latitude 15° 10′, and of all the lands which I sighted and am going to sight, and of all this region of the south as far as the Pole, which from this time shall be called Australia del Espiritu Santo, with all its dependencies and belongings; and this for ever, and so long as right exists, in the name of the King, Don Philip, third of that name King of Spain, and of the eastern and western Indies, my King and natural Lord, whose is the cost and expense of this fleet, and from whose will and power came its mission, with the government, spiritual and temporal, of these lands and people, in whose royal name are displayed there his three banners, and I hereby hoist his royal standard.

The reading being finished, all cried with loud voices: "Long live the King of Spain, Don Philip III., our Lord!" Then we entered the church to give due thanks to God.

They said three Masses, and the fourth, which was sung, was by our Father Commissary. All the people took the sacrament very fervently. This done, the three Ensigns, who now held the banners in their hands, inclined them to the ground in front of the altar, the Royal Ensign holding the royal standard. The Commissary blessed them with great solemnity; and, at a certain signal that was given to the ships, whose mast-head banners displayed the royal arms, and at the sides the two columns and the *plus ultra*, with the streamers fluttering, fired off all their guns with full charges; the soldiers discharged muskets and arquebuses, and the gunners sent off rockets

and fire-wheels. In the middle of all this noise, all shouted with almost infinite joy, and many times: "Long live the Faith of Christ!" And with this the celebration of the festival came to an end.

CHAPTER XXV.

What passed between the Captain and the late Chief Pilot, and certain persons who spoke for and against; and how freedom was given to two slaves.

PRESENTLY the former Chief Pilot prayed the Captain, with exaggerated supplication, to pardon him. The Captain enquired of him for what he asked pardon: for if he referred to things that affected him, he might be certain that, without having to ask for pardon, he would be pardoned; but if the pardon was asked for things connected with the royal service, he must tell him what was well known, that his treatment was reasonable and just. The Chief Pilot replied to this by swearing, with great demonstrations of innocence, that he had neither offended the King nor the Captain in anything, nor had desired to give offence. According to him, I am the person who ought to ask for pardon.

Then a certain monk took the Captain aside, and said that the Chief Pilot was very obliged and grateful, and that from this time forward he would work marvels in all things; and that he was already doing so, as the monk could witness. The Captain answered that he left that to God, who knew the most secret intentions and could not be deceived; and that for himself, he looked to have treated the Chief Pilot in quite a different manner, having entrusted to him business which included good things and likewise his honour; and that although it was very early, his recent acts having shown that neither his word nor his

offers were to be trusted, the fact of his having done so much good to anyone made it unprofitable that he should remain under punishment.

Other persons had given evidence to the Captain against the Chief Pilot, and to all he answered that before God he could justify his acts in giving information, pardoning, or giving hope. When such means were of no avail, he held the rod in his hands, giving such blows as the culprit deserved; and that he had kept the Chief Pilot a prisoner, considering that to be a punishment which would be sufficient.

Freedom given to two slaves.

The Captain asked an officer named Alonso Alvarez de Castro, and Juan Bernardo de Fuentidueña, Pilot of the *Almiranta*, that they would give—as they did give with very good will, by reason of pious motives and of the honour of the festival of that day—freedom to a slave which each of them possessed, for which purpose they drew up letters. This being done, we went to dine under the shade of great tufted trees near a clear running stream, the *corps de garde* being alert and the sentries posted.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The election of a municipality and of magistrates, names of the persons elected, and what else happened until the crews embarked.

HAVING had his siesta, the Captain assembled the Master of the Camp, Admiral, Royal Ensign, Sergeant-Major, and Captains, and said to them that, possession having been taken of that land, and the city having received the name of the New Jerusalem, with their concurrence, he would elect a municipality and such officers as is usual in a city

that was the capital of a province. As they expressed their concurrence, it was agreed among all that the elections should be made in the manner following:—

Magistrates	Don DIEGO BARRANTES Y MALDONADO.
	LUIS DE BELMONTE BERMUDEZ.
	The Licentiate ALONZO SANCHEZ DE ARANDA.
	The Captain MANUEL NOBLE.
	FRANCISCO DE MEDINA.
	FRANCISCO DE MENDOZA Y SARMIENTO.
	FRANCISCO DE ZANDATEGUI.
	ANTONIO FRANCISCO CAMIÑA.
	JUAN ORTIZ.
	ALONSO PEREZ DE MEDINA.
	JUAN GALLARDO DE LOS REYES.
	PEDRO CARRASCO.
	GIL GONZALEZ.
Secretary to the Municipality . .	SANTIAGO DE IRIARTE.
Justices of the Peace .	Don ALONZO DE SOTOMAYOR.
	Captain RODRIGO MEJIA DE LA CHICA.
Chief Constable . .	Captain GASPAR DE GAZA.
Royal Officers:	
Accountant . .	Don JUAN DE ITURBE.
Treasurer . .	Don JUAN DE LA PEÑA.
Factor . . .	JUAN BERNARDO DE FUENTIDUEÑA.
Registrar of Mines .	Don ANTONIO DE CHAVES.
Store-keeper General	Don DIEGO DE PRADO Y TOVAR.[1]
Overseer . .	Don JUAN DE ESPINOSA Y ZAYAS.[1]

As soon as the elections were completed, all the officials took the oath, placing the right hand on a breviary, which the Father Commissary held; swearing that they would be loyal to His Majesty, in whose name the different offices had been given to them; and with this the proceedings terminated.

Afterwards, the municipal officers formed in order, and accompanied by the rest of the people, went to the church. Within was the Father Commissary, who, pointing to the

[1] Not in Leza's list.

upraised cross, said, "Here, gentlemen, you have the Holy Cross, the semblance of that which, by the mercy of God, secured all our remedy and all our good;" but such were the tears he shed that he could not proceed.

The Captain embarked, taking with him the same cross, the standard and banners; and, on arriving on board, he ordered that block on the yard-arm to be taken down, where it had been placed to punish crimes. For the Captain could not believe that persons with such an honourable destiny would do things the punishment of which would be the rope. The Captain ordered the Master of the Camp to take an armed party, and penetrate further into the interior than he had done before. They saw more and better farms and villages than before, and at one village they found the natives much occupied with their dances. When they saw us they began a flight to the mountains, leaving strewn about as they fled, bows, arrows, and darts. Our people found two roast pigs, and all their other food, which they ate at their ease. They carried off twelve live pigs, eight hens and chickens, and they saw a tree which astonished them, for its trunk could not have been encircled by fifteen or twenty men; so they returned to the ships.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Relates how they sowed some land; the entry into a valley; capture of three boys, and what happened with the natives.

THE Captain, on the last day of Easter, taking with him such an escort as seemed necessary, went to an adjacent farm of the natives and sowed a quantity of maize, cotton, onions, melons, pumpkins, beans, pulse, and other seeds of our country; and returned to the ships laden with many roots and fish caught on the beach.

Next day the Captain sent the Master of the Camp, with thirty soldiers, to reconnoitre a certain height, where they found a large and pleasant valley, with villages. When the inhabitants saw us coming, many assembled together in arms. We caught there three boys, the oldest being about seven years of age, and twenty pigs. With these we began a retreat, and the natives, with vigour and bravery, attacked our vanguard, centre, and rearguard, shooting many arrows. The chiefs came out to the encounter, and by their charges forced us to lose the ground we were gaining. Arrived at a certain pass, our people found the rocks occupied by many natives, who were animated by the desire to do as much harm as possible. Here was the hardest fight, their arrows and stones hurled down from the heights, causing great danger to our men. When the Captain heard the noise of the muskets and the shouting, he ordered three guns to be fired off, to frighten the natives and encourage our people; and the better to effect this at the port, those in the ships and on the beach were sent to support the retreating party in great haste. The forces having united, they came to the ships, saving the spoils, and all well.

There was a certain person, who said in a loud voice: "Thirty pigs would be better eating than three boys." The Captain heard this, and said, with much feeling, that he would rather have one of those children than the whole world besides. He made a speech on the subject, concluding with the following words: "I give the blame to my sins, and to those alone. And how much better would it be for the person who spoke such nonsense if he had given praises to God, who, in a way so strange and unthought-of, saved these three souls—a thing which we must believe to have been predestined?" For this speech there was some ill-feeling on the part of the man who had spoken, and more from his friends.

The natives, on the following day, having other ambus-

cades, came to attack our watering party, who armed themselves in great haste. The natives shot off their arrows, and our people fired their muskets. The natives then fled, shouting as they went, leaving marks of the harm done them by the balls.

It seems that the natives, in their rage that they could not revenge themselves on us, came to destroy the church. The Captain hurriedly sent off an armed party in the two boats to prevent them. When the natives saw this, they slowly retreated. Their object appeared to have been to draw our men away, to lead them to where many other natives were concealed; for we afterwards saw them go away, crossing the river of Salvador.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

How the launch went to examine the mouth of the great river, and what else happened with reference to excursions inland.

THE Master of the Camp was sent to examine the mouth of the river, which is in the middle of the bay, with the launch, a boat, and a party of men. He tried the depth of the river mouth, and found that there was no bottom, with the length of an oar and his own arm. He went further up in the boat, and the view of the river gave much pleasure to those who were with him, as well for its size and the clearness of the water, as for its gentle current and the beauty of the trees on its banks.

The launch passed further up, and our people landed on the bank and went inland. They found a small village of four streets, and an open space at the most elevated part. All round there were many farms, surrounded by palings. Two spies were posted, who warned the natives, and they all fled. Our people found in their houses several kinds of

fish, roasted and wrapped in plantain leaves, and a quantity of raw mussel-shells in baskets, as well as fruits and flowers hung on poles. Near there was a burial-place. They also found a flute, and certain small things worked out of pieces of marble and jasper. As they heard drums and shells, and a great murmuring noise, understanding that it came from a large number of people, they retreated, followed by the natives, who did not dare to attack them. Finally, they got to the launch in peace, and returned to the ships.

On many other occasions our people went to fish and to seek for things very necessary for the requirements of the ships, returning well content with the excellence of the land. Encounters with the natives were not wanting, and I believe they killed some natives, although they denied it to me.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Describes the festival of *Corpus Christi*, and the procession they made.

ALL the carpentering work was finished by the 20th of May. On that day the Captain gave orders to the Master of the Camp to go on shore with a hundred soldiers, and to collect things to adorn our church of Loreto, and to make streets round it, so that on the next day, which was that of *Corpus Christi*, we might there celebrate its festival with all the force we could muster. In the night, the eve of the festival was celebrated on board.

Before daybreak our people went on shore, and formed an escort for our six monks, who got everything ready that was required. When all was ready, the Captain was informed, who presently got into the boat, leaving two men

on board each ship, and taking all the rest with him. On reaching the shore, they all jumped out and went to the church. Its door was to the north, bravely decorated with things of the country, the roof and part of the body of the church being covered with green branches; and there was a very curious altar under a canopy, with a service of silver. For an altar-piece there was a painted Christ crucified, on a great cloth, with four candles at the sides, and incense-sticks burning.

Having said his prayers, the Captain went out to see the place. At the commencement there were three high triumphal arches, enlaced with palms, shoots, and flowers, while the ground was also strewn with flowers. The streets were formed with many trees, those within forming a cloister; and here were planted divers branches and herbs to look like a garden. At two angles, under two other arches, were placed two altars with their canopies, and the images of St. Peter and St. Paul; while its author, the Brother of the Order of John of God, on his knees at one side, was saying his prayers.

The day was clear and serene, and as the sun rose over the crowns of the trees, its rays entering through the branches, the difference in the fruits of each plant was shown in great profusion. Here, too, could be heard the persistence with which the birds sang and chaunted; the leaves and branches were seen to move gently, and the whole place was agreeable, fresh, shady, with a gentle air moving, and the sea smooth.

Presently returning to the church, two Masses were said. A third was said by the Father Commissary, and the procession was then ordered in the following manner:—A soldier went first, carrying in his hands the heavy cross of orange wood. Next came a lay brother, with another gilt cross from the sacristy, with the bag raised on a lance, and on each side two acolytes, with candlesticks and red

cassocks, and all those in surplices. Then followed the three companies in order, each one bearing its banner in the centre, with its drums sounding a march. There was a very picturesque sword-dance by eleven sailor lads, dressed in red and green silk, with bells on their feet. They danced with much dexterity and grace to the sound of a guitar, which was played by a respected old sailor. This was followed by another dance by eight boys, all dressed like Indians in shirts and breeches of silk, coloured brown, blue, and grey, with garlands on their heads, and white palms in their hands. Bands of bells were round their ankles, and they danced with very quiet countenances, at the same time singing their canticles to the sound of tambourines and flutes played by two musicians.

Then followed the royal standard, accompanied by the Master of the Camp, the Sergeant-Major, and the Captains. Then six Magistrates, each with a lighted torch in his hand. Then came the Father Commissary, whose pall of yellow silk, six yards long, was borne by three royal officers and three Magistrates. He carried in his hand a coffer of crimson velvet, with gilded nails, which contained the most blessed sacrament. Another lay brother incensed it. All the four priests marched joyfully, singing the hymn "*Pangelingua.*" The Captain carried the royal standard as far as the door, where he delivered it to the Ensign, whose place was behind the pall, with the two Justices of the Peace and the Chief Constable.

When the Lord now came forth from the door, all the bells rang, and the people, who were looking on attentively, fell on their knees; the Ensigns lowered the banners three times, the drummers beat the drums for battle; the soldiers, who had the cords ready, fired off the muskets and arquebuses; the constables fired off the guns which were on shore for defending the port; and in the ships the artillerymen fired off the bombards and pieces, and those placed in

the launch and boats for the occasion. Once more, and once again, they were discharged. When the smoke cleared away, there were seen amongst the green branches so many plumes of feathers and sashes, so many pikes, halberds, javelins, bright sword-blades, spears, lances, and on the breasts so many crosses, and so much gold, and so many colours and silken dresses, that many eyes could not contain what sprung from the heart, and they shed tears of joy. With this the procession returned, the church being guarded by four *corps de garde*. The dancers kept dancing to keep up the festival, and remained within; and the Captain at the door said to them: "All the dresses you wear you can keep as your own, for they are from the royal treasury. I would that they were of the best and richest brocade."

As a finish a fourth Mass was said, that it might be heard by the sentries who were posted to keep a look-out for any approach of the natives, though they were far off on the beach and on the hills.

This done, the Captain ordered the bells to be rung in honour of those, in Lima, who had said that they would come to that land when they could have a passage.

The native who was taken from Taumaco, and was afterwards named Pedro, went about dressed in silk with a cross on his breast, and bow and arrows, so astonished and pleased at all he saw, and at his cross, that he looked about and showed it, putting his hand on it, and named it many times. It is a thing worthy of note that the cross elevated the mind, even of a barbarian who did not know its significance.

Having given the souls such sweet and delicious food, friends and comrades divided themselves off to the places dedicated to hearths and pots, where, with tables spread under the shade of tall and spreading trees, they gave themselves up to feeding their bodies.

During the subsequent siesta there were dances, music, and pleasant conversation; and he who said this was fortunate that day, as well as those who saw it all, for it was the first festival celebrated in honour of the most high Lord in these strange and unknown lands. As our force was small, and the natives numerous, it was considered by some to be an act of great audacity. I say that it was a great hit, and that it was done in full faith.

There was one who said that this octave of Don Alonso de Ercilla seemed to foretell it, which one sincerely devoted to the expedition, by slight alterations, adapted to the present occasion as follows:—

Araucana.[1]

Behold where are hidden the lands,
Scarce discerned by mortal ken,
Those are regions still unknown,
Never pressed by Christian men.
This will ever be their fate,
Want of knowledge keeps them there,
Wrapt within a fleecy cloud,
Until God shall lay them bare.

Version of the friend of Quiros.[2]

Behold how we have found these lands,
Now clearly seen by mortal ken,
Those are regions now made known,
Pressed by feet of Christian men.
Unknown no longer is their fate,
Now full knowledge points them there,
No longer hid in fleecy clouds,
God His secrets now lays bare.

The Captain sent some of the people on board again, and marched inland with the rest to the sound of drums.

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[1] "*Araucana*," por Don Alonso de Ercilla. Canto XXVII, octava 52.

[2] The "friend" is, of course, Belmonte Bermudez, the Secretary of Quiros.

He saw what he had sown already sprouting, the farms, houses, fruit orchards; and having walked for a league, he returned as it was getting late. When he came on board, he said that as these natives were at war with us, and there was not a chance on our side, we would leave the port next day to visit the lands to windward. The Admiral asked, in his name and those of the crew, that another day might be allowed for the people to catch fish. It happened that they fished in a certain place whence they brought to the ship a quantity of *pargos*, which are considered poisonous, like those in Havana and other ports. As many as ate them were attacked by nausea, vomiting, and feverish symptoms.[1]

This unexpected and sudden evil caused much grief to all, and there were not wanting opinions, nor the conclusion of one who said, that to get much it will cost something, and that the sweet is mixed with the bitter.

CHAPTER XXX.

Gives some account of this bay, and of all that is contained in it, and in its port.

THIS bay, to which the Captain gave the name of St. Philip and St. James, because it was discovered on their day, is 1,700 leagues from Lima, from Acapulco 1,300,

[1] Captain Cook relates that his people caught two reddish fish with hook and line in Port Sandwich, Malicolo Island (one of the New Hebrides), on July 24th, 1774. The fish were about the size of a large bream. Most of the officers, and some of the petty officers, dined on them the next day. The following night, every one who had eaten of them was seized with violent pains in the head and bones, attended with a scorching heat all over the skin, and numbness in the joints. The pigs and dogs who had partaken of the fish were also taken ill, and two died. It was a week or ten days before all the officers recovered. In mentioning this, Cook refers to the similar experience of Quiros and his crew, as described by Dalrymple, vol. i, p. 140.—*Cook's Second Voyage*, vol. ii, p. 39.

from Manilla in the Philippines 1,100 leagues. Its entrance is to the N.W. in 15° S., and the port is in 15° 10′ S. The bay has a circuit of 20 leagues, at the entrance 4 leagues across. The variation of the compass is 7° N.E.

The land which forms the bay runs directly N. on the E. side, with sloping heights and peopled valleys well covered with trees. This side ends at the mouth of the bay with a height rising to a peak, and the coast runs E. and then S.E., but we could not see how it ends.

The other land to the W. runs nearly N.W., and to the point is 11 leagues in length, consisting of a range of hills of moderate height, which the sun bathes when it rises, and where there are patches without trees, covered with dried-up grass. Here are ravines and streams, some falling from the heights to the skirts of the hills, where many palm groves and villages were seen. From the point on this side the coast turns to the W.

The front of the bay, which is to the S., is 3 leagues long, and forms a beach. In the middle there is a river which was judged to be the size of the Guadalquivir at Seville. At its mouth the depth is 2 and more fathoms; so that boats and even frigates could enter. It received the name of the "Jordan." On its right is seen the Southern Cross in the heavens, which makes the spot noteworthy.

To the eastward, at the corner of this bay, there is another moderate-sized river called "Salvador," into which the boats entered at their pleasure to get water. The waters of both rivers are sweet, pleasant, and fresh. The one is distant from the other a league and a half, consisting of a beach of black gravel, with small heavy stones, excellent for ballast for a ship.

Between the said two rivers is the port. The bottom is clean, consisting of black sand, and here a great number of ships would have room up to 40½ *brazas*. It is not known

whether there are worms. As the beach is not bare nor driven up, and the herbs are green near the water, it was assumed that it was not beaten by the seas; and as the trees are straight and their branches unbroken, it was judged that there are no great storms. The port was named "Vera Cruz," because we anchored there on that day.

In the whole bay we did not see a bank, rock, or reef; but it is so deep that there is no anchorage except at the above port. It is better to approach near the river Salvador, and there is another moderate port which is distant 2 leagues from this on the N. to S. coast.

All the said beach is bordered by a dense mass of great trees, with paths leading from them to the shore. It seemed to serve as a wall, the better to carry on defensive or offensive operations against other natives coming to make war. All the rest is a level plain, with hills on either side. These on the W. side run southward, becoming more elevated and more massive as their distance increases. As for the plain, we have not seen where it ends. The earth is black, rich, and in large particles. It is cleared of wild trees to make room for fruit trees, crops, and gardens surrounded by railings. There are many houses scattered about; and wherever a view could be obtained, many fires and columns of smoke were discerned, witnesses of a large population.

The natives generally seen here are corpulent, not quite black nor mulatto. Their hair is frizzled. They have good eyes. They cover their parts with certain cloths they weave. They are clean, fond of festivities and dancing to the sound of flute and drums made of a hollow piece of wood. They use shells also for musical instruments, and in their dances make great shouting at the advances, balances, and retreats. They were not known to use the herb.[1]

[1] He means betel. See p. 51.

Their arms are heavy wooden clubs, and bows of the same, arrows of reed with wooden points, hardened in the fire, darts with pieces of bone enclosed.

Their interments are covered. We saw some enclosed with their oratories and figures, to which they make offerings. It is, to all appearance, a people courageous and sociable, but without care for the ills of their neighbours for they saw some fighting with us without coming to help them.

The houses are of wood, covered with palm leaves, with two sloping sides to the roof, and with a certain kind of outhouse, where they keep their food. All their things are kept very clean. They also have flower-pots with small trees of an unknown kind. The leaves are very soft, and of a yellow-reddish colour.

The bread they use is mainly of roots, whose young shoots climb on poles, which are put near them for that purpose. The rind is grey, the pulp murrey colour, yellow, or reddish; some much larger than others. There are some a yard and a-half in thickness, also two kinds: one almost round, and the size of two fists, more or less. Their taste resembles the potatoes of Peru. The inside of the other root is white, its form and size that of a cob of maize when stripped. All three kinds have a pulp without fibres, loose, soft, and pleasant to the taste. These roots are bread made without trouble, there being nothing to do but to take them out of the earth, and eat them, roast or boiled. They are very good cooked in pots. Our people ate a great deal; and, being of a pleasant taste and satisfying, they left off the ship's biscuit for them. These roots last so long without getting bad, that on reaching Acapulco those that were left were quite good.

Their meat consists of a great quantity of tame pigs some reddish, others black, white, or speckled. We saw tusks 1¼ *palmos* in length, and a porker was killed weighing

200 lbs. The natives roast them on hearths, wrapped up in plantain leaves. It is a clean way, which gives the meat a good colour, and none of the substance is lost.

There are many fowls like those of Europe. They use capons. There are many wild pigeons, doves, ducks, and birds like partridges, with very fine plumage. One was found in a lasso, with which the natives catch them. There are many swallows; we saw a macaw and flocks of paroquets; and we heard, when on board at early dawn, a sweet harmony from thousands of different birds, apparently buntings, blackbirds, nightingales, and others. The mornings and afternoons were enjoyable from the pleasant odours emitted from trees and many kinds of flowers, together with the sweet basil. A bee was also seen, and harvest flies were heard buzzing.

The fish are skate, sole, pollack, red mullet, shad, eels, *pargos*, sardines, and others; for which natives fish with a three-pronged dart, with thread of a fibrous plant, with nets in a bow shape, and at night with a light. Our people fished with hooks and with nets, for the most part. In swampy parts of the beach shrimps and mussels were seen.

Their fruits are large, and they have many cocoa-nuts, so that they were not understood to put much store by them. But from these palms they make wine, vinegar, honey, and whey to give to the sick. They eat the small palms raw and cooked. The cocoa-nuts, when green, serve as *cardos*[1] and for cream. Ripe, they are nourishment as food and drink by land and sea. When old, they yield oil for lighting, and a curative balsam. The shells are good for cups and bottles. The fibres furnish tow for caulking a ship; and to make cables, ropes, and ordinary string, the best for an arquebus. Of the leaves they make

[1] Thistles; teazel.

sails for their canoes, and fine mats, with which they cover their houses, built with trunks of the trees, which are straight and high. From the wood they get planks, also lances and other weapons, and many things for ordinary use, all very durable. From the grease they get the *galagala*, used instead of tar. In fine, it is a tree without necessity for cultivation, and bearing all the year round.

There are three kinds of plantains: one, the best I have seen, pleasant to smell, tender and sweet.

There are many "*obos*," which is a fruit nearly the size and taste of a peach, on whose leaves may be reared silk-worms, as is done in other parts.

There is a great abundance of a fruit which grows on tall trees, with large serrated leaves. They are the size of ordinary melons, their shape nearly round, the skin delicate, the surface crossed into four parts, the pulp between yellow and white, with seven or eight pips. When ripe it is very sweet; when green, it is eaten boiled or roasted. It is much eaten, and is found wholesome. The natives use it as ordinary food.

There are two kinds of almonds: one with as much kernel as four nuts lengthways, the other in the shape of a triangle. Its kernel is larger than three large ones of ours and of an excellent taste.

There is a kind of nut, hard outside, and the inside in one piece without division, almost like a chestnut: the taste nearly the same as the nuts of Europe.

Oranges grow without being planted. With some the rind is very thick, with others delicate. The natives do not eat them. Some of our people said there were lemons.

There are many, and very large, sweet canes: red and green, very long, with jointed parts. Sugar might be made from them.

Many and large trees, bearing a kind of nut, grew on the forest-covered slopes near the port. They brought these

nuts on board as green as they were on the branches. Their leaves are not all green on one side, and on the other they turn to yellowish grey. Their length is a *jeme*,[1] more or less, and in the widest part three fingers. The nut contains two skins, between which grows what they call mace like a small net. Its colour is orange. The nut is rather large, and there are those who say that this is the best kind. The natives make no use of it, and our people used to eat it green, and put it into the pots, and used the mace for saffron.

On the beach a fruit was found like a pineapple. Pedro was asked if it was eaten, and he replied that only the bark was eaten of the tree which yielded that fruit.

There were other fruits, like figs, filberts, and *albaricoques*, which were eaten. Others were seen, but it was not known what fruits they were, nor what others grew in that land. To give a complete account of them and of other things, it is necessary to be a year in the country, and to travel over much ground.

As regards vegetables, I only knew of amaranth, purslane, and calabashes.

The natives make from a black clay some very well-worked pots, large and small, as well as pans and porringers in the shape of small boats. It was supposed that they made some beverage, because in the pots and in cavities were found certain sour fruits.

It appeared to us that we saw there quarries of good marble;[2] I say good, because several things were seen that were made of it and of jasper. There were also seen ebony and large mother-o'-pearl shells; also some moderate-sized looms. In one house a heap of heavy black stones was seen, which afterwards proved to be metal from whence

[1] The space between the end of the thumb and the end of the forefinger, both stretched out.

[2] Coral cliffs.

silver could be extracted, as will be seen further on. Two of our people said they had seen the footprints of a large animal.

The climate appeared to be very healthy, both from the vigour and size of the natives, as because none of our men became ill all the time we were there, nor felt any discomfort, nor tired from work. They had not to keep from drinking while fasting, nor at unusual times, nor when sweating, nor from being wet with salt water or fresh, nor from eating whatever grew in the country, nor from being out in the evening under the moon, nor the sun, which was not very burning at noon, and at midnight we were glad of a blanket. The land is shown to be healthy, from the natives living in houses on terraces, and having so much wood, and because so many old people were seen. We heard few claps of thunder, and had little rain. As the rivers flowed with clear water, it was understood that the rains were over.

It is to be noted that we had not seen cactus nor sandy wastes, nor were the trees thorny, while many of the wild trees yielded good fruit. It is also to be noted that we did not see snow on the mountains, nor were there any mosquitos or ants in the land, which are very harmful, both in houses and fields. There were no poisonous lizards either in the woods or the cultivated ground, nor alligators in the rivers. Fish and flesh keep good for salting during two or more days. The land is so pleasant, so covered with trees; there are so many kinds of birds, that, owing to this and other good signs, the climate may be considered to be clement, and that it preserves its natural order. Of what happens in the mountains we cannot speak until we have been there.

As no very large canoes were seen, with so large a population, and such fine trees, but only some small ones, and the mountain ranges being so high to W. and E., and to

the S., and the river Jordan being so large, with great trees torn up and brought down at its mouth, we came to the conclusion that the land must be extensive, and yielding abundantly; and that consequently the people were indolent, and have no need to seek other lands.

I am able to say, with good reason, that a land more delightful, healthy and fertile; a site better supplied with quarries, timber, clay for tiles, bricks for founding a great city on the sea, with a port and a good river on a plain, with level lands near the hills, ridges, and ravines; nor better adapted to raise plants and all that Europe and the Indies produce, could not be found. No port could be found more agreeable, nor better supplied with all necessaries, without any drawbacks; nor with such advantages for dockyards in which to build ships, nor forests more abundant in suitable timber good for futtock timbers, houses, compass timbers, beams, planks, masts and yards. Nor is there any other land that could sustain so many strangers so pleasantly, if what has been written is well considered. Nor does any other land have what this land has close by, at hand, and in sight of its port; for quite near there are seven islands, with coasts extending for 200 leagues, apparently with the same advantages, and which have so many, and such good signs, that they may be sought for and found without shoals or other obstacles; while nearly half-way there are other known islands, with inhabitants and ports where anchorages may be found. I have never seen, anywhere where I have been, nor have heard of such advantages.

I take the port of Acapulco as an example, being well known as such a principal city of Mexico. I say that if it is good as an anchorage, it is very bad owing to the frequency of fogs, and the want of a river and of ballast; also, from being unhealthy most of the year, and intolerable from the heat and the mosquitos, and other molesting

insects for the rest; also for its inconvenient site near stony and dry hills, and because provisions have to come from a distance, and soon turn bad; and finally, because it is dear, and ships have a bad time from the S.E.

If we look from the Strait of Magellan along its two coasts, on one side to Cape Mendocino, on the other to Newfoundland, being 7,000 or 8,000 leagues of coast, it will be found that, out of the ports that I have visited, that of San Juan de Ulloa does not merit the name of a port, nor its town to be inhabited by people; that Panama and Puerto Bello have little and bad accommodation; and that Payta, Callao, Havanna, Carthagena (the two latter being famous), La Guayra and Santa Martha, and many others, including those of Chile and Brazil, according to what I have been told, are wanting in many necessary things. Not one will be found which has all the advantages possessed by the port and land of which I treat. Being in 15°, more good things may be expected than from places in 20°, 30°, and 40°, if things turn out as they promise. I also say that if there is nothing better than what I have seen, it is sufficient for a principal place that may be settled.

If we look round the coast of Spain, so good a port will not be found; while its soil only produces thorns, ilexes, and broom, or at best arbutus and myrtles, and other poor fruits; and he who grows them for profit has nothing for his pains. April and May failing, the fruits fail.[1]

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[1] Captain Cook visited the Island of Espiritu Santo in August, 1774, and on the 25th entered the bay of San Felipe y Santiago, discovered by Quiros. The wind being S., Cook was obliged to beat to windward. Next morning he was 7 or 8 miles from the head of the bay, which is terminated by a low beach, and behind that an extensive flat covered with trees, and bounded on each side by a ridge of mountains. The latitude was 15° 5′ S. Steering to within 2 miles of the head of the bay, he sent Mr. Cooper and Mr. Gilbert to sound and reconnoitre the coast. Mr. Cooper reported that he had landed on the beach near a fine river. They found 3 fathoms close to the beach, and 55 two cables' lengths off. At the ship there was no bottom with 170 fathoms. When the boat returned, Captain Cook steered down the bay; and

during the night there were many fires on the W. side. In the morning of the 27th the ship was off the N.W. point of the bay, in latitude 14° 39′ 30″. The bay has 20 leagues of sea-coast—6 on the E. side, 2 at the head, and 12 on the W. side. The two points which form the entrance bear S. 53° E., and N. 53° W., from each other distant 10 leagues. An uncommonly luxuriant vegetation was everywhere to be seen. Captain Cook named the E. point of the bay "Cape Quiros," which is in 14° 56′ S., and longitude 167° 13′ E. He named the N.W. point "Cape Cumberland." It is in 14° 38′ 45″ S., and 166° 49′ 30″ E. —*Cook's Second Voyage*, vol. ii, p. 89.

The Editor has to thank Dr. Bolton G. Corney for the following very interesting account of his visit to the bay of San Felipe y Santiago in 1876 :—

"While on a voyage through the New Hebrides in the barque *Prospector*, of 260 tons, in August, 1876, I visited the bay of San Felipe y Santiago, now commonly known to shipmasters and other *habitués* of the Western Pacific as the 'Big Bay.'

"The island itself is, for short, spoken of as 'Santo,' not only by local white men, but also by many of the natives of it and the neighbouring ones, many of whom have been in Fiji or Queensland, and have picked up a little Fijian or English, as the case may be.

"The *Prospector* was chartered by the Government of Fiji to return 476 of these people to their homes, in completion of contracts made with them a few years before, after performing a term of labour on the cotton and maize or cocoa-nut plantations of that group of islands, which, in 1874, became a British Crown colony. I was in charge of these returning emigrants, both medically and as representing the Government.

"We passed from Malikolo to 'Santo, and worked up under the lee of its western side to Pusei and Tasimate, landing and recruiting emigrants as we went, and bartering for yams, and taro, and pigs by way of provisions. We rounded Cape Cumberland (the extreme N.W. point of the island), and worked into the bay of San Felipe y Santiago, making one long board to the E.N.E or N.E. by E. first, and then a long leg to the S.S.W., or thereabouts, which brought us close in with the land on the W. side of the bay. The land there was high and steep, and we had deep water until quite close into the beach. We then went about and made short tacks towards the *fundus* of the bay, where we had to lay the barque quite close in to the shore before getting anchorage. The water was blue and clear, and I do not recollect seeing any reefs or patches. The anchorage we made for was known to our recruiting agents, who called it the 'river Jordan.' I have a recollection of hearing that we got 9 fathoms with the lead just before letting go. The water was quite smooth, protected by the land at the head of the bay from the prevailing trade-wind ; and the barque lay at a few boats' lengths from the beach—about 300 yards W. from the *embouchure* of the river.

"Our objects in calling there were (i) to land certain natives of the place whom we had on board, with their earnings ; (ii) to recruit others if any suitable ones offered ; and (iii) to obtain wood and fill water.

"The beach, if my memory does not mislead me, was of black sand, which is not an uncommon thing in islands of volcanic origin, such as the New Hebrides : the distance from low water-mark to the edge of the timber and undergrowth which fringed it just above high-water

mark, was only a few yards—perhaps 18 or 25—except near the mouth of the river, where it was more shelving, and extended out into a sandy foreshore or bank corresponding to the bar, the dry land being flat and of alluvial formation.

"The river was about as large as the Thames at Isleworth, and flowed into the bay through a wide and far-reaching valley from S. to N. Its banks were low, and overgrown with reeds and scrub, and more than usually free from the customary mangrove trees and bushes. We did not explore it for far, because the friendly attitude of the natives could not be depended on to last, if they should get us into a 'corner;' but I pulled into the river in one of the recruiting boats for a short distance, and selected a place at which we filled our beakers and water-casks with water of good and fresh quality. This was perhaps less than half a mile from the mouth: the water was clear, and we could see the bottom in mid-stream; but the tide was at the last of the ebb, as we had chosen that time for the sake of getting the freshest water.

"The natives brought us some dead logs to the beach, and others on bamboos to the vessel's side, much of which the sailors and officers bartered for in the belief that it was sandal wood. It was in reality, I believe, the wood known in Fijian as *Sevna* or *Cevna*, a kind of *Pittosporum*, which grows near the sea and has a strong sandal-wood odour. We also obtained the natives' consent to our cutting some firewood, which was mostly wild *dawa* (*Nephilium pinnatum*), and *mulomulo* (*Hiliuscus populnea*), a littoral tree often used in Fiji to cut boats' knees from.

"We recruited four men to go with us to Fiji for three years. They were all adults of about 20 to 24 years, tall, black, and athletic young men, much above the average stature of New Hebrideans anywhere north of Eromango; and the other people of the locality appeared to me equally well-built, and some 5 ft. 10 in. or 5 ft. 11 in. in height. I cannot say whether they were the true inhabitants of the place, as we saw no village nor huts: they may have been mountaineers from the interior on an excursion to the coast, the mountaineers in these islands being as a rule blacker, and I think taller (with exceptions), than the coast people.

"They had no canoes—at least I saw none—except two small catamarans; and the timber they took alongside the ship was floated off by means of bamboos.

"It is doubtful whether mountaineers would have possession of catamarans on the coast, or trust themselves to bamboo rafts.

"The west shore of this bay rises steeply from the water throughout most of its extent: but there are narrow strips of low-lying flat land between the beach and the mountain side at intervals, continuous with the small valleys, where creeks or torrents, of which there are several, have deposited silt and boulders, and rocky *débris* from the higher slopes. But, in so far as I remember, they are all insignificant in extent, as the mountain ridge which forms this large promontory and ends abruptly in Cape Cumberland, rises, as already mentioned, steeply from the sea, which is deep all along and around it, with only here and there even a fringing shore reef. There is no barrier reef whatever, and consequently no lagoon.

"As to size of the 'Big Bay,' I should say that the distance from Cape Cumberland to the 'Jordan' is something like 30 miles. The head of the bay runs from the river mouth in an easterly direction

for 3 or perhaps 4 miles, being mostly flat; low-lying alluvium, and then sweeps round towards the N.E. and N., being more elevated and undulating, and ends in Cape Quiros. This land, forming the eastern horn of the bay, does not project so far seaward as the western promontory, and is neither so high nor so steep, nor so heavily timbered as the latter, which is in fact a continuation of the backbone of the island, as far out as Cape Cumberland. The eastern horn extends northward perhaps 10 or 12 miles only.

"The depth or extent of the bay itself, from its chord formed by an imaginary E. and W. line drawn through Cape Quiros, seemed to me about a dozen miles, and it is of similar width. It may, therefore contain nearly 150 square miles in area.

"The anchorage is well protected from the prevailing trade-wind which blows from E.S.E., and is sheltered from that point round by S. to N.W. It is not exposed either from E.N.E. to E.S.E., but from N.W. to N. and N.E. it is unsafe."

CHAPTER XXXI.

Gives an account of the departure from this port, and of the return to it; also of what happened, at that time, with the natives by reason of the three boys.

As it was arranged that the ships should leave the port, understanding that the sickness was not very bad, they made sail on the following day, the 28th of May. In the afternoon the sick were so helpless that the Captain ordered the Pilots to keep the ships within the mouth of the bay until the condition of the people was seen next day. They were all in such a state that the Captain gave orders for the ships to return to port, where, the wind being fair, they were easily anchored. Then steps were taken to confess and take care of the sick, and they all got well in a short time.

On the day after we anchored a number of natives were seen on the beach, playing on their shells. To find out what it was about, the Captain ordered the Master of the Camp to go with a party of men in the two boats to learn what they wanted. When our people were near them, they vainly shot off their arrows to the sound of their instru-

ments. From the boats four musket-shots were fired in the air, and they returned to the ships.

Soon afterwards the Captain ordered them to return to the shore, taking the three boys, that the natives might see them, and be assured that no harm had been done to them, the fear of which was supposed to be the cause of all this disturbance. When they arrived, the boys called to their fathers, who, though they heard them, did not know their sons by the voices or by sight, because they were dressed in silk. The boats came nearer, that they might get a better view; and, when the boys were known, two natives waded into the water up to their breasts, showing by this, and by their joy during all the time the sweet discourse lasted, that they were the fathers of the boys.

The natives were given to understand that the muskets were fired because they fired the arrows. To this they answered that it was not them, but others of a different tribe; and that, as they were friends, they should be given the three boys. They said they would bring fowls, pigs, and fruit, and present them. They were told, by pointing to the sun, that they were to return at noon. They went away, and the boats went back to the ships. At the time arranged the natives sounded two shells, and the boats went back with the three boys, whose fathers, when they saw and spoke to them, did not show less joy than at the first interview. They gave us a pig, and asked for the boys. They said they would bring many on the next day, which accordingly they did, sounding the shells.

The boats again went to the shore, taking a he- and a she-goat, to leave there to breed; also taking the boys as a decoy to induce the natives to come, so as to take them to the ships, and let them return. They found two pigs on the beach; and, when they were delivered up, our people gave the goats in exchange, which the natives looked at cautiously, with much talking among themselves.

The fathers begged for their sons; and, because we would not comply, they said they would bring more pigs, and that we were to come back for them when they gave the signal. In the afternoon the same signal was made, and the boats returned to the shore. But they only saw the goats tied up, and two natives near them, who said that they would go to seek for others, as they did not want the goats. Thinking that this looked bad, a careful observation was made, and many natives were seen among the trees with bows and arrows. Understanding that this was a plan for seizing some of our men, or for some other bad object, the muskets were fired off, and the natives hastily fled with loud shouts. Our men recovered the goats, and returned to the ships. Then the biggest boy, who was afterwards named Pablo, said to the Captain, not only once, but many times, with signs of great affliction, "*Teatali*"; which was supposed to mean that he wanted to go on shore. The Captain replied: "Silence, child! you know not what you ask. Greater good awaits you than the sight and the communion with heathen parents and friends."

It is to be noted that a cross, which had been left on the banks of the river Salvador, was found raised in its place, and that the natives had put branches and flowers round it.

There was not wanting one who said to the Captain that, as he had before him a land with so many rivers and ravines, he should make tests to ascertain whether they contained the metal called gold, so acceptable in the eyes of men. The Captain replied to this that he had only come to discover lands and people; and that, as God had been pleased to show him what he sought, it would be neither just nor reasonable to risk the whole for a part; that, if it could be done, understanding that this might have the colour of an excuse, he would have done it without the interference of another; and that it will be for the

settlers who may come to these lands to undertake, with proper security, these and other cares. The man replied to this that the time was now full for such work; that if it was not known that there was gold and silver, there would not be the incentive to come and settle. To put an end to the argument, the Captain answered that the cause was that of God; and when the hour chosen by the Divine Majesty arrived, there would be given for this his estate, overseers, and workers, not only for gold, but for the saving of souls.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The causes which led the Captain to leave this port a second time; and how, in returning to it, the *Capitana* parted company with the other vessels; how a better view was obtained of the plains that were seen before entering the bay, and of that great and high range of mountains far away to the S.E., and how an island was discovered.

THE Captain, seeing that the natives of that bay continued to be hostile, owing to the bad treatment they had received, resolved to proceed to get a near view of that great and high chain of mountains, desiring by the sight of them to reanimate all his companions; because, if he should die, they would remain with the ardour to continue the work until it was finished. He considered that, failing his person, discord and danger would not be wanting, owing to the pretensions of those who wished to be chief; also that, of necessity, there should be agreement respecting the route that should be followed. There did not fail to be diverse opinions whether it should be to windward, leaving as a possibility what it was so much desired that we should see. It also seemed to many who had a look-out from the mast-head, that all those lands were joined one to the other. To the Captain it seemed that what was desired to be seen was of

great importance, and that it would be well to keep that port to leeward.

To give effect to this desire, he left the bay with the three vessels on Thursday, the 8th of June, in the afternoon, three days after the conjunction of the moon, there being a light wind from the E., which was the point from which the wind had blown most of the time we had been there. Outside it veered to S.E., and blew with some force. So that we were all that day working against it without being able to make any progress. For this cause the Pilots cried from one ship to another: "Where are we going?" The Captain had these and other reasons submitted to them, and resolved to return to the port, with the intention of wintering there, building a strong house, sowing the land, getting a better knowledge of the season, and building a brigantine to send, with the launch, to discover what was so much desired, it being clear to all that this was very necessary; because the place which seemed so important to the sight had as yet yielded but a bad account.

All night we were beating on different tacks at the mouth of the bay. At dawn the *Almiranta* was 3 leagues to windward, and at three in the afternoon she and the launch were near the port. The Captain asked the reason why these vessels, which were not so good on a bowline as the *Capitana*, were so far ahead. He was told that they had met with more favourable winds. Presently it was said that there had been very little sail on the *Capitana*, and that she had made very short tacks, and that this was the reason, and it seems a good one, that she was so much behind. The force of the wind was increasing, and the night was near, owing to which the Pilot ordered that if they could not reach the port, they were to anchor wherever it was possible. The night came on very dark. The *Almiranta* and the launch appeared to have anchored.

They saw the lanterns lighted, to give the *Capitana* leading marks, as she was also going to anchor. Soundings were taken, and they found 30 fathoms, not being an arquebus shot from the port. The wind came down in a gust over the land. Sails were taken in, and the ship was only under a fore course, falling off a little. The Chief Pilot, exaggerating very much the importance of being unable to find bottom, together with the darkness of the night, the strong wind, the numerous lights he saw without being able to judge with certainty which were those of the two ships, said to the Captain that he was unable to reach the port. The Captain commended his zeal and vigilance.

There was one who said, and made it clearly to be understood, that more diligence might easily have been shown to anchor or to remain without leaving the bay; and that, with only the spritsail braced up, she might have run for shelter under the cape to windward. It was also said that they went to sleep. In the morning the Captain asked the Pilot what was the position of the ship. He replied that she was to leeward of the cape, and the Captain told him to make sail that she might not make leeway. The Pilot answered that the sea was too high and against them, and that the bows driving into the water would cause her timbers to open, though he would do his best. I say that this was a great misfortune, owing to the Captain being disabled by illness on this and other occasions when the Pilots wasted time, obliging him to believe what they said, to take what they gave, measured out as they pleased. Finally, during this and the two following days, attempts were made to enter the bay. The other vessels did not come out; the wind did not go down; while, owing to the force of the wind the ship, having little sail on, and her head E.N.E., lost ground to such an extent that we found ourselves 20 leagues to leeward of the port, all looking at

those high mountains with sorrow at not being able to get near them.

The island of "Virgen Maria" was so hidden by mist that we could never get a sight of it. We saw the other island of "Belen,"[1] and passed near another, 7 leagues long. It consists of a very high hill, almost like the first. It received the name of "Pilar de Zaragoza."[2] Many growing crops, palms, and other trees, and columns of smoke were seen on it. It was about 30 leagues to the N.W. of the bay; but no soundings and no port. We diligently sought its shelter, but were obliged to give it up owing to the wind and current; and on the next day we found ourselves at sea, out of sight of land.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Gives the sorrowful discourses made by the Captain and others, to mitigate the grief they felt at having lost the port, and to settle what must be done with the consent of all.

HERE it was represented to the Captain that if in Lima they had given him his despatch on the day of St. Francis, so ordered that he should go on with his plan, which was to steer for the thirtieth degree towards the south, for this forty days or less seemed sufficient. If by that route the sought-for land was found, it would be the best time of the year for exploring its coasts and islands. If land was not found on that parallel, there was still a month and a-half before the sun took its turn, for them to navigate towards the W., or with tacks to S.W. and N.W., to cross those seas until it was made clear that the supposed lands do not exist; and he might make many other researches, according to the position in which he found himself.

[1] Probably Vanua Lava.

[2] Ureparopara, or islands to N.W.

In short, I say that from the day of St. Francis to the end of May there are eight months less those four days, and that to go from Lima by the usual route to Manilla two months and a-half, or at most three months, are sufficient. The other five months give plenty of time to discover and see very extensive lands and many ports, or to go in May to Manilla, which is before the S.W. winds begin, and in October or November, which is the beginning of the N. winds; and by these breezes to leave that city and go outside the two Javas to the S.S.W. in search of lands, passing the Cape of Good Hope in January, February, or March, the best months in the year for that, so as to reach Spain in July, August, or September, which is the summer. To make such a grand voyage as this twenty months are enough, or at the outside two years, and this truth will be confessed by all who know how to navigate; and also how great will be the regrets of him who knows that this time he is unable to get from such labours those fruits for others which he so truthfully expected. With his great loads of sorrow the Captain said in public that all of us should be witnesses, because if he should die, it should remain in the memory of the people that these two months and a-half of summer that he was delayed at Callao had robbed him of the power of following up so great an enterprise as was the present, while only half an hour of time took it from his hands.

He considered the strong contrary winds, the very threatening weather, the fact that their present position was unknown, that the ship must need repairs, the necessity for going to a place where she could be either got into harbour or careened on a coast, and that all was ended there. He had very prominently in his mind that at the first difficulty or danger there would be a want of resolution or of management, or of the desire to apply a remedy; for which reason it might with truth be said that he was

without pilots on whom he could rely, and that from some other persons there was little to be expected or hoped. Then there were his own infirmities; so that altogether the case was one of evident danger.

Putting on one side the ordinances of God, His high and secret decrees, and how limited was his understanding to enable him to decide whether what happened was or was not in conformity with them, the sorrowful Captain said discretion was of little use to arrange things, nor the mind to undertake business, though it be easy, if there be any one who has the will and power to take away all his just value or great part of it. Sovereigns, he said, when they undertake great enterprises, ought to distinguish, make clear, and strengthen their orders in such a way that the persons to whom their execution is entrusted can have no room for doubt, nor to contend, nor any one who can make excuses; and not pledge men so that they find themselves in positions so confused and difficult as had the Captain For he could not tell what advice was mature nor what was inexperienced, nor the choice he should make, nor the resolution he should take which, if followed, might lead at least to part of the remedy for the evils which were menaced in so important a matter.

He arranged to go, as we were then steering to N.E. and N. as far as 10° 30′ S., the latitude of the island of Santa Cruz, which being settled, the Captain made the following discourses.

In the first place the S.E. wind had the same force, and if with such threatening weather he steered to the W. in search of the island of Santa Cruz, it might remain at the E., and, without the danger in which he would have to put the vessel, he would place himself still more distant from help if he did not make the landfall.

Secondly, he knew, for he had already made the voyage to the Philippines, there was the beginning of those furious

westerlies which last at least until the first days of October, for which cause it was impossible to go there at that season.

Thirdly, to undertake the voyage to Acapulco; the distance was very long, and it would be necessary to cross the equator without knowing which time would be the best; while there was very little water left and no meat: for the Chief Pilot had buried the casks among the ballast where the bilge-water sucked in, and for that reason it had all turned bad.

He felt that he had many sick, and no medical man, nor the necessary comforts to nourish them.

He knew that in the ship he had some few friends and all the rest enemies; and those he had to help him and take part of his duties were those who were soonest tired, and were least able to manage things, or to treat of more than the security of their own persons, while they disliked work.

He did not certainly know what had happened to the other two vessels; so that he reflected that only the ship in which he was, was available to bring the news of the discoveries and how much they imported, and that the same news should be given by those who remained. He made other very sorrowful discourses, and the following, which were more consolatory.

The first was that many exploring ships and fleets, full of men and riches, have been lost in known seas, without, in many cases, having secured their objects, either in whole or part.

The second, that he had completed the discovery of such good peoples and lands without knowing where they ended, with such a large bay and good port within it, and had taken possession in the name of His Majesty, without the loss of a single man; and that all this was a beginning, with very great foundations, for the settling and completing

the discovery of all that those lands contain; and that so arduous an undertaking could not be finished in one voyage, nor in three, even with very efficient help, and with men who would work with the same love for the cause as the Captain felt.

The third, that as God had been served to guide them to those parts, and to give them time for all that had been done, it was very just that he should be consoled and in conformity with the will of the Lord of times and seasons. He could understand that if another voyage should be desired, that also it could be made, although it should be more in the winter, and though men should contradict or favour, and other thousands of opponents should bar the way. It would be well to agree to what had happened, for causes which, at present, are not comprehended.

The fourth is that, in the other two vessels, there remained the instructions that had been given, and it was understood that, if they were safe, they would do all in their power to discover more lands, and bring from them such news as might be hoped from God, and the Admiral, and his Pilot, Juan Bernardo de Ruentidueña, a person from whom great things might be hoped; and also from the Captain of the ship, Gaspar de Gaya, and from three very respectable monks; in fine, from all the people connected with that ship, as likely to be useful. Finally, he said that the present time ought to be cared for to ensure the time to come, and that he who rules must entrust to some man all or part of the business, present or absent, great or small; and if those who are so trusted deceive those who put confidence in them, where can there be a remedy except in heaven.

The Captain saw that it was indispensable to decide at once what ought to be done; and, therefore, he called a meeting of all the officers and other persons in the ship, telling them that they must carefully consider all the

reasons he would put before them, the present state of affairs, and what should be done. There were some who, through the mouth of one as ignorant as themselves, said that they should go to the Philippines. To this, others replied that as they had money they wanted to go and get employment in the porcelain and silks of China, where the work should pay them, or at least the Royal Treasury. In the end all were of opinion that they should make for the port of Acapulco, and they signed their names to this resolution on the 18th of June.

The Captain at once ordered the Pilots to shape a course N.E. by N., if the weather would allow it, and if in the southern part where we were any islands should be found, we were to anchor there to build a launch and come to a new resolution, in order that God and His Majesty might be better served. In case no such island could be found, we were to continue on the same course until the ship was in 13° 30′ N. latitude, the parallel of the island of Guan in the Ladrones, on the route of ships going from Acapulco to the Philippines. There, with reference to the feelings of the crew, the weather, the condition of the ship, and the provisions, another final agreement was to be made, and a resolution taken with reference to the route to be adopted for reaching a friendly port.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Relates how a quantity of water was collected from two great showers of rain; how the ship crossed the equator; how an island was discovered; how the last agreement was made at a meeting; and of the courses and latitudes as far as a certain point.

WITH the wind S.E., which had now broken its fury, they continued to navigate until the eve of St. John the Baptist. On that day God was served by giving us a great shower

of rain. With twenty-eight sheets stretched all over the ship, we collected, from this and another rainfall, three hundred jars of water: a relief for our necessities, and a great consolation for all the people. With a few changes of wind and some calms, heading to the N., we reached the line on the 2nd of July. That night the needle was marked, and it was found that the variation was to the N.E. by E., a notable thing, for in the bay it was 7° almost on the same meridian, and the distance so short.

With the wind S. and S.W. we continued to navigate until the 8th of July. On that day we saw an island, about 6 leagues in circumference. As until now we had not met with any island or rock whatever to impede our road, we gave it the name of "Buen Viaje." Its latitude is 3° 30′ N. It was decided not to approach it nearer, as it was not convenient, and for fear of rocks. In this part, in a higher latitude, we had some rain, especially one shower, which filled all the jars that were empty, and it was drunk without doing the least harm, nor did it ever get bad. In short, after God, the rain showers saved our lives.

On the 23rd of July the Captain ordered the Pilots to state the latitude they were in, and the distance in leagues from the Philippines and from the coast of New Spain, according to their calculations; also, they were to declare definitely in which direction the ship's head was to be turned.

They gave 3° 10′ N. as the latitude, 780 leagues east of Manilla, and 780 leagues S.W. of the coast of New Spain, adding that the ship could not go to Manilla owing to contrary winds[1] at that time; and it was, therefore, their opinion that the course should be steered for the coast of New Spain and the port of Acapulco.

It appeared to the Captain that the best service he

[1] Vendavales.

could do to His Majesty at present was to save the ship, save time, save the expenses caused if they went to Manilla, and the cost of the ship with all hands during a whole year; and being so far to windward of the meridian of Japan, there was no wind that could impede their reaching a higher latitude or to reach the coast. He also considered that the ship was well supplied with water and biscuit, and all the crew healthy, and that there were two natives of those parts on board to give information; that if he should die at sea there would be others to navigate the ship, so that His Majesty would be informed of all that had been discovered and promised, and that he was bound to choose the least of two evils; he ordered the Pilots to shape a course for New Spain and the port of Acapulco, and to give an account of the route they followed, and the latitude each day. He said to them that he who suffered most and should be most useful, would be most worthy of reward.

Considering the state of affairs owing to the delayed despatch at the Court of Spain and in Callao, I say that, for its grandeur and importance, and the facility with which the Captain is able to demonstrate all his thoughts and wishes by his works, so many times made known, it has been the greatest of the injuries done to a man who has bought it by such continual labour and misery, and other very high costs, wandering and finding in so long a journey very great difficulties. For all these, and a thousand other reasons, the Captain did not know whether to throw the blame on ignorance or malice, and ended by attributing it to his many great sins. He, therefore, confessed that he was not worthy to see the end of a work in which those who lived righteously would be well employed, having all the qualifications that so sacred an enterprise requires.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Relates how a great shoal of *albacore* fish accompanied the ship for many days; the fishing of them; and the rest that happened until they sighted the land of New Spain.

WITH the winds between E. and N.N.E. we navigated until the 26th of July, when we were in 18° N. On this day we had the sun at the zenith, and crossed the tropic of Cancer on the 1st of August. Up to this position we had seen gulls and other birds almost every day.

On the 5th we had the wind aft and ran before it, with an E. course, for nearly three days, then more northerly as far as 25° N. This day, which was that of St. Lawrence, they collected from a shower of rain fifty jars full of water, Certain *albacore* and *bonito*, in a large shoal, had hitherto followed the ship, and every day the men fished with nets, fizgigs, and harpoons, catching ten, twenty, thirty, even fifty, some of them weighing 3, 4, and 5 *arrobas*. We ate them fresh, and salted them down, filling many jars. About 2,500 *arrobas*[1] of fish supplied the place of meat, and lasted until we reached the port of Acapulco, with some over.

The voyage was prolonged owing to scarcity of wind and calms, and it was necessary to go as far N. as 38°; and we kept working to the E. with wind S.S.E., not always steady.

On the 1st of September, at three o'clock in the afternoon, there was a great trembling of the sea and of the ship —a notable thing, and new to me. Then, with wind S. and S.W., we navigated until the 26th of September. On that day, at three o'clock in the morning, there was a great eclipse of the moon, which lasted three hours. The varia-

[1] An *arroba*=25 lbs.

tion of the needle was here very slight. The pilots were making for land, and all the people were tired of the long voyage, with the allowance of water reduced to a *quartilla,* and other hardships, caused by so many months at sea. They were most anxious to see land, or signs of it, when a great weed was seen on the sea, called "*porra.*" In that season the wind is S.E., and the course E.N.E. The wind changed to N.E., and it has been necessary to go further N.; but the Captain, knowing by that weed, and many others of the same kind, that the land was near, ordered an E.S.E. course to be steered. So they proceeded, meeting with signs that consoled them: such as the sight of seals, leaves of trees, and birds of the sea-shore sitting on a tree-trunk.

Much care was exercised with regard to the look-outs. At night there were two men on the bowsprit, and in the daytime one at each masthead. At last, on September 23rd, early in the morning, one Silvestre Marselles reported with great joy: "I see land ahead. It is high, bare, and dry." Many went aloft to see, and confirmed the news. The Pilots took the sun at noon, and found the latitude 34° N. Presently, the Captain told four men to look out carefully, to see if it was islands. All said it was mainland, But they were wrong: for on the first night, with a very clear sky, we found ourselves between two islands, the sight of which disgusted everybody, and caused the Captain much sorrow. For, during that day and night much care was required, and even more from not knowing who to trust, each day bringing its trials. As a remedy, he stationed an overseer on the poop, but very soon he went with all the rest, who had their own methods. In fine, it was God's pleasure that the channel should be clear. We sailed out of it; and, coasting along the main-land, we passed the island of "Cerros," with the loss of some days from calms and light winds.

Will of the Captain.

"I desire much that in these regions which it has been the will of God to show me, and in all those still hidden but, no doubt, as well peopled as those I saw, there be designed and fabricated some nests without brambles, nor other kinds of thorns, refuges and pleasant abiding-places of pelicans, who first tear their flesh, open their bosoms, and clearly show entrails and heart; and, not content with that, they should give to these people dishes cooked in many ways in the braziers of enlightened charity being the pots and pans of piety and pity, and the table-service of all equity; and that for drink there should be the sweat of their brows, if they prefer not giving the blood of their veins; all this with pure and clear love, always without ever a step backwards.

"I should not wish, in no way whatever, that among these new and tender people there should come to settle and to live, or to enter into grand palaces for their nests, any falcons, or sakers, or other birds of prey, which, circling and dissimulating, spring suddenly on their prey and grasp them with their cruel talons, and with their fierce and sharp beaks tear them into two thousand pieces, without ever being gorged, or picking the bones when there is no flesh left on them. To give a relish to dishes of such impious wickedness, there is offered certain salts; and they give for fruit certain honeyed excuses void of all the law of reason and unworthy of all good memory, but very worthy of due punishment. An example of this is in the Indies with their islands. Ask all the natives respecting all that affects life, liberty, honour, and estate (I leave the spiritual out of account), what there is to say as compared with their state in those former times, and they will say how things go now: and how they hope they will go, though not by a post which goes in haste.

"But I answer for them, and say in this wise, that the force, injuries, injustices, and great evils that have been done, and are done, are incredible, the methods infernal, the number not to be counted: and that never have I seen their masters, nor others who enjoy great part of the toil of the people, to lament the evil things they have done and do, that they alone may take their ease in all comfort. If perchance I have heard one grumble, cry, or quarrel, it is for me a pretence, and nothing more. For they have not pardoned, nor pardon, nor intend to pardon, for the least thing they want, much less excuse any payment of money. It is money, I say, that they want, and more money, though it be torn from men's entrails. This I have seen, and how much the loss comes in, so much the more money they want; and they do not return that which they have taken by force, but rather seek anew and with increased eagerness, dyed in unknown, dark, and strange colours. I say they require from them always more, and never less, though it should be in the deprivation of the glory and eternity of their hell and that of their victims.

"They see this with eyes of the body and soul, those gentlemen who have to be the judges in so pious a cause as is represented here; for with theirs I discharge my conscience, announcing in all I have written and shown with much facility that, if it is desired to mitigate such diabolical avarice, it will be shown that there is plenty for all; and that in this and other gentle and reasonable means there will not be so many fishermen, huntsmen, owners, with such correspondence as I have seen and well noted. They will do works so honourable and beautiful as will make all others of the same kind look ugly. And more also: for God and His Majesty will be served in all those regions, and the natives will be made to prosper, as is just and right, under heavy penalties, to be attempted

and seen to in the great and the small affairs ; and this will be my reward."

The reasons the Captain gave for Punishing Certain Men, and those he gave for not doing so.

There were in the ship some persons who always desired all the good things of the voyage, which they obtained at the cost of much care and vigilance, but who were annoyed to have been seen, and to be seen by others, to have little will for the work, and to make a bad return for the affectionate treatment and the benefits they had received from the Captain. Others spoke to him many times, wishing to incite him to punish them, or to give them permission to stab such people.

To this the Captain replied that he had duties to all, and that it was for him, for just causes, to dissimulate and to suffer. And he did suffer ; and those who were his friends suffered with him, and they would bear witness that during the expedition he was determined never to take life or reputation ; and if he had done so, he would have been discontented and unquiet for all the rest of his life. For the rest, who could seek to have dead men present with him, or dishonoured men ?

They said that these men did not recognise good works, nor do they merit untiring courtesies ; nor could it be suffered that these men should go about with the full intention, as soon as they put their feet on shore, to speak evil of his person and services, and to ruin the cause he loved so well, without regard for what is true or reasonable and just, and merely with the object of avenging themselves.

The Captain said to this that it would be great cowardice to fear for the truth on account of lies ; and that, if he should take account of ten or twelve worthless men, it would be here that it should be shown. He well knew, he said, the bad recompense of men, and that he never hoped

for good report, so that he was not deceived; nor did he wish to waste a single moment on such nonsense, having need for time for more important matters.

They said that God punishes those who deserve it.

The Captain answered that God pardons, has long suffering and waits, and that when He determines to punish, He cannot deceive nor be deceived. He himself had understood the naturally evil dispositions of some, and the unstable and changeable characters of others. He feared from many the vengeance desired by their passions, which being blind, can deceive as much as he can be deceived by his enemies. To pardon ingrates and enemies without having cause to do so—to do them good by force, if they wish to know—was a very great vengeance; and greater courage was shown by having power and not using it, and still greater to defend them, being enemies, and to overcome them when he addressed his discourses to them. He had come out of this first attempt without blood having been on his knife, although he had bought this result very dear, and it would cost him more hereafter. He considered himself well employed in securing that this expedition should have fame equal to that of other passed expeditions; and that over the bones of so many martyrs there should rise such a good work, with good repute in the world, which was that for which he took most heed.

They said that piety was very good, and also that it was reasonable to punish the bad.

The Captain replied to this that the Emperor Theodosius said, on a certain occasion, that he would like to have the power to give life to all who are dead. Charles V suffered, and pardoned very many; deemed it right to give punishment measured out by his will; and the same was done by George Castriot and many valorous and prudent Captains —mirrors in which he was looking night and day, with the

desire to imitate them. Piety is worthy of praise, and is the more celebrated when it is most observed. If to pardon the faults of men, as he was, hoping for their amendment, was not caused by natural piety, it would have been less so to treat, so much at his cost, a work altogether pious. For his part, piety was so applauded and practised in the greater; but this did not appear a reason to deny it in lesser, nor that suffering should come to an end for all. Being about to die, and at a time when he was seeking a port in which to bring the voyage to an end, all the ill-will that had appeared and the concealed spite might also end; and the more to humiliate them, though they might be rebels, he would protect them; saying that he had experienced this time, for the undeceiving of others, that there were men with hearts so hard that kindness would not soften them, and that they would give evil for good. When it should be so, he would say what he wished and do what he could; that his voice had been as little heard as the little justice done him, and the low opinion of him. It is certain that the vulgar will have to judge this business with very different feelings from what he intended; and that when he should give sentence it was more desirable that it should be pious than cruel—rather reputable than severe. He said, finally, that justice was an excellent virtue, and very necessary in the world; but yet let it be exercised by others who have the habit, rather than by him among those who use little reason, the witnesses being enemies, to investigate the truth without more or less help.

A Notable Event.

There was a sailor in our company, of Aragonese nationality: a well-disposed and soldierly youth, so well endowed with parts and graces, that for them his person deserved and was highly esteemed by all on board. Being in 24° N., and two leagues from the shore, this lad was called and

searched for in all parts of the ship and in the parts aloft, without an answer and without being found, being wanted to take the helm in the morning watch. It was reported to the Captain, who ordered the ship to be put about and further search to be made. All parts of the sea were examined, his name was cried out, signals were made with fire, all the rest of the night and part of the following day being devoted to the search, without getting a sight of him, nor any mark to guide us.

In this confusion and in great sorrow we continued on our course. The Captain was anxious to clear up the mystery, and made enquiries. He found that, on certain days, the lad had filled two pitchers with seeds, beads, bells, twine, nets, knives, and a hatchet; that he had closed their mouths with wax of Nicaragua, that he had put wine and a small box of conserves into a moderate-sized jar, and had taken his sword. On that same morning he had been very attentive, listening to the life of St. Anthony the hermit being read to him, and praising it much. He turned down the page and kept the book. All the afternoon he was at the mast-head looking out, and taking bearings of the land with a compass he possessed. On the night that he disappeared it was noticed that he was very watchful. It was conjectured that with a board, and some battens and cord he had in his berth, he had made a raft, and that he went away on it, taking with him all the things that have been mentioned, for none of them were to be found. It was also said that he had a strong wish to remain with the natives of the discovered land, and that he had asked one man to stay with him; but as our departure had been sudden, he had no opportunity of carrying out his intention. He had, therefore, determined to leave us here, to teach the heathens or to live in solitude. His chest was opened, and there was found his clothes, his money, and a memorandum of all that did not belong to him and had been given to him to

take care of, desiring that it should be returned to the owners.

This was the act of a man whom we held to be rational and a good Christian, and when I think of his strange resolution it causes me sorrow, much more that he should have launched himself on such a raft, with great risk that he would never put his feet on land. Even if he did, he might not find the requisites to sustain him. If he tried to go inland, or to the banks of some river, or along the shore, who was to carry the two pitchers for him, with the things he had with him, and the other necessaries to maintain life? If eventually he met with natives, they might be those who would receive him and treat him well, or they might be those who eat human flesh. Then, to think of the solitude, of his nakedness, and of the inclemency of the weather. If he finds that the land does not suit him, from not offering the means of carrying out his intention, or from having repented of what he had done, how far he will be from any remedy, and how near to danger and evil! There are other things well worthy of consideration; above all, his being cut off from the divine offices and the sacraments. As I know not his motives, I will not venture to be his judge in this matter; only desiring that the Lord may have been served by guiding his destiny in such a way that he may have been saved, and many others with him.

A Great Storm.

We continued on our course, the men ready with their arms, and look-out men at the mast-heads, because we were approaching a cape called San Lucas, where the Englishman, Thomas Cavendish, robbed the ship *Santa Ana*. We soon passed it and in peace, and on Wednesday the 11th of October, the sky was serene, the sea smooth, without conjunction or opposition of the moon. But, in the mouth of the Gulf of California, towards dawn, a wind

sprung up from the N.E., with very thick weather. At nine o'clock the wind shifted to N., and increased so that we were obliged to batten down the hatchways, and run before it only under the foresail, which was soon blown to ribbons, and the ship broached to, breaking the rudder pintels. The rudder being thus left free, gave such violent blows on either side that the least harm to be feared was that it would be smashed into splinters and leave the ship ungovernable. Presently the sailors, understanding what that signified, helped each other and rigged tackles, with which the rudder came under control. In bending another foresail the man who was at the yard-arm was twice covered with water, and was under water for long spaces of time.

Presently we tried to make sail and run before it; but the wind increased to such an extent that the violent seas threw up spray which seemed like showers of rain, and the drops made the eyes smart.

The waves filled the boat with water, and it was quickly washed into the sea. It was scarcely gone when three seas broke over the ship, with such force that they left her with the waist half full of water. With this weight and the violence of the wind the ship could not rise to it. Seeing this, the Moorish drummer said: "Here we have nothing more to hope for." Presently he tossed himself into the sea, and such was his luck that another wave brought him on board again. That he might not commit such an act of folly again, he was taken into custody.

The scuppers, where the water flows out of a ship, were small and few. With water up to their waists, the men succeeded with bars and levers in tearing away some of the planks, so as to allow the water to escape. Here was seen those who helped without intelligence, and others who ought to have helped but did not. Some were to be seen at the pumps, others trying to lighten the ship, and many

hoarse with crying: "Cut away the main mast; it is that which is taking us to the bottom." Some said Yes, others said No; but, in an instant, with knives and hatchets, they were cutting away the weather rigging. The Captain called to the Pilots to look out. They remained deaf. He sent to tell them all to wait another hour. Many, seeing that the remedy was delayed and the knife was only threatened, the diligence they used was for what was important for their souls. Some confessed, others sought pardon and pardoned, embraced and took leave of each other. Some groaned and others wept, and many went into corners awaiting death.

The Captain, in great haste, ordered the two natives to be brought to the bed where he was lying, and the Franciscan Father to ask them whether they wished to be Christians. Both replied in the affirmative very fervently, and, when they had recited the creed, he baptized them, calling them Pedro and Pablo.

The Captain was their godfather, and embraced them with his eyes full of tears. Seeing that they were frightened, he consoled them, saying: "To God be the thanks that I owe and ought to give, oh eternal Father! for such signal mercies. For you have been served that I should go through such labours, without meriting this small fruit: small as compared with my desires, but really great, for they are two souls newly baptized and brought into the bosom of our Catholic Church."

Pedro and Pablo were very devout and constant in prayers, with their hands joined, and when the ship appeared to be sinking they cried: "Jesus! Mary!" making the sign of the cross towards the sea. It was enough to see and hear them, to melt the hardest hearts. The ship ran on, and hope arose. There was one who said: "Fear nothing; for such a work is done that God will add what is needed to save the ship and crew."

It was three in the afternoon. The wind and sea did not work nor seem to fight with our poor ship, which was so much over on one side, when a great sea arose, followed by two frightful claps of thunder, and by such a fierce gust of wind that there seemed to be nothing left for the ship but to turn over on her keel. Then the semblances of the dead were seen, the most courageous ordering they knew not what, and the Pilots dumb. Sighs, vows, promises, and colloquies with God could be heard, and one who said: "O Lord! for what have I served in all that has been done and seen if this ship is to go the bottom?" and he passed on with great demonstrations of faith. In short, all were crying out, seeking help from God, who was served that the fury of the wind passed from N.E. to W., and it began to go down. The ship, raising her neck and shaking her sides, quickly righted, and before night we made sail and shaped an E.S.E. course, making for Cape Corrientes.

Death of the Father Commissary.

Now we proceeded under all sail with the wind astern and the people happy, recounting the events of the recent battle with the elements that it was well to note; some to arouse laughter, others with amazement at having been witnesses of such a violent storm, the rigour of which would have been greater and the damage worse if it had continued through the night. Some praised the ship, its handiness and strength; others the courage and nerve, and the prompt diligence, and all the most high Lord for His mercies. Others there were who said that the tempest and its furies were necessary to humiliate the proud, to make the ungrateful grateful, and that might come to an end all the enmities caused from want of love. For with such love can be suffered, with manly fortitude, what had passed and a little more. Such events more quickly give than offer; how much more where there was not one who

had a bad taste except this, which it was more difficult to suffer, one to another for so long a time, in one ship always seeing the same faces. I say no wonder, if fathers tire of their sons, brothers and friends quarrel, and a husband sometimes comes to abhor his dear wife.

Our Father Commissary, who had been ill for some time (I think from want of proper nourishment, and owing to his great age), was attacked with paroxysms and agonies in the middle of the following night, and God was served in taking his life. Having worn his habit for forty years, and being nearly eighty years old; also having died in a just cause, having gained the jubilee conceded to the expedition, we may well hope that he enjoys the presence of God. For the rest of the night his body was lighted with four wax candles. When the day came, the Father, his companion, with the crew of the ship, prayed to God for his soul, and with much feeling he was buried in the sea in sight of the islands called "*Las Tres Marias.*"[1]

The native named Pablo was very attentive, looking on at what was taking place. As he saw that the body, owing to the weight attached to its feet, went down, while, at the time of his baptism, they told him that when Christians die they go to heaven, he asked how it was that the Father, being a Christian, went to the bottom of the sea. As best we could, he was given to understand that only the soul went to heaven. As he knew little about that, he remained doubtful; and all were full of admiration at seeing a boy of eight years old ask such a question, who, only the other day, was a brutish gentile.

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[1] Wooded islands, off the port of San Blas, on the west coast of Mexico.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

What else happened until the ship anchored in the port of Navidad.

WE were in sight of land, and sailed along the coast, making the short hours long, for the longing we felt to see the ship anchored in the port of Zalagua for which we were making. Being almost there, it fell calm. We struggled against it, but could never enter. It was very unlucky, for the want of one hour's wind robbed us of the great satisfaction of reaching port after all the want of rest during our past labours.

There was much discourse touching the necessity in which we were placed, and meanwhile there was such a strong current that, in a short time it nearly made us lose the 4 leagues there are between the port of Zalagua and that of Navidad. Although it was a bad coast, it was agreed to send two men on shore to seek for people and help. But, as one of the barrels, on which they were, was carried away by the current, the Captain ordered the men to come on board again lest they should be drowned. If the ship passed the port of Navidad, for which both wind and current were favourable, there was no other known port near where we could be refreshed.

Seeing the disgust and disquiet of the crew that the ship rolled, and that there were only forty jars of water left on board, for all this, and so as to run no further risks, it was resolved to make for the port of Navidad. The Captain explained to the Chief Pilot the causes which moved him to do so, the chief of which was the desire to send the news to Mexico, that the Viceroy might send it to His Majesty, touching all that happened, being that for which he had most care, finding himself so near to death. The Pilot

showed himself to be lukewarm about it; in consequence of which the Captain issued an order to go at once to that port, on pain of grave penalties, because so it was ordered.

So the night closed in. The most expert of the sailors was stationed on the bowsprit to give notice of the steering when she entered. Helped much by the light wind, and much more by the current, we proceeded, though slowly, and entered near a great rock, with a reef to leeward. The night being dark, there was temerity in entering. Some anxiety was caused at seeing the ship near the rocks, and some men stripped ready to swim. There were these alarms, but good government in the ship, which went further in. Then it fell a dead calm, and we anchored in an insecure place, so as not to be carried out by the tide. Soon a fresh S.E. breeze sprang up. The anchor was raised in a great hurry, sail was made, and we were able to anchor further in. At last, having passed the night in these brief voyages, the day came, and we entered the port, anchoring in 12 fathoms in front of a beach exposed to several winds. The ship was, therefore, secured with four cables on the 21st of October, 1606.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Relates what happened in this port of Navidad until we left it.

THE ship was anchored; but, as we had no boat, we made a raft of two barrels and a yard. The Captain ordered four men, with the necessary provision of biscuits and arquebuses, to go on shore and look for some settlements, of which he had notice. The raft was taken on shore by the force of the waves. Three sailors who were on it found a new boat in a certain place, and two jars in a straw hut. They also found a river, from which they filled the

jars. From this supply, and the twenty-seven jars that remained full on board, the crew were allowed to drink freely and quench their great thirst. They then waited hopefully for a good report from their four companions. A day and night passed, and on the next morning the four sailors came back, who had been wandering all night among dense and thick trees, along rivers and swamps, without having found a sign of any settlement. The crew were very sad at this news; but presently two courageous sailors came forward—one from Ayamonte, the other from Galicia—and said to the Captain that, if he would give them leave, they would go on shore and search for villages or people where God might guide them.

That day they finished building a small boat on board. Some tents and booths were set up on shore. The Captain landed with the standard and banner, and with half the men armed; and he ordered that three pieces should be fired from the ship at sunrise, and sunset, and at noon: for by chance the report might be heard by cowherds or other people.

Soon they began to try to catch birds, rabbits, and to fish; thinking that, when provisions failed, they could in this way supply present necessities.

Things being in this state, one afternoon two mounted men were seen to ride on to the beach in great haste, and dismount. Our people received them with incredible joy, and gave them many cordial embraces. One was an Indian farmer, a sharp fellow; the other one, Jeronimo Jurado de San Lucar de Barrameda, who said that when he heard the report of the guns he concluded that there must be a ship in need, for which cause he had come; and there he was to do what he could that they might be relieved.

The Captain, seeing his good will, embraced him a second time, and contented both by giving them things from the ship. He asked Don Jeronimo to return with the Ser-

geant-Major, who would go to Mexico with the letter for the Viceroy, and with two other persons, who would take money to buy provisions. Next day they sent fowls, eggs, chickens, a calf and an ox, which sufficed, and more.

The two good sailors arrived the same day, with natives, horses, and succour of all kinds. It seemed to the crew that, coming second, their work was not so much esteemed. But the Captain embraced them, and said how much he valued their honourable resolves, and how pleased he was, as all ought to be, with the trouble they had taken.

The news of our being in the port, and of the good treatment we extended to all who came to it, soon spread. Many natives, who were concealed in the woods, by reason of those aggregations of one village with others, came to bring us fruits, maize, and other things, for which double their value was paid. In order that they might continue to help, the Captain gave them biscuits, salt, wine, and other things, and dressed three or four in silk.

The Chief Admiral of Colima, Don Juan de Ribera, at the request of the Captain, and on payment, sent a quantity of biscuits and fowls. So, in the twenty-seven days that we were there, we were gaining new strength, and recovering from a certain disease in the gums, which on these coasts usually attacks those who come from Manilla.

Satan did not neglect to sow bad and mischievous seeds in this port, such as he had sown up to this time; and, what was worse, he found soil disposed to receive, to blossom, and to yield fruit, which was all he wanted.

As soon as our Father saw natives, he wanted that they should find him horses, to go to Mexico. The Captain knew this, and asked him many times to consider the little space of time that was needed for reaching Acapulco, and that nothing would be more noteworthy than to complete the voyage. To this the priest replied, that he knew what

suited him best; that he did not want in that short space to die and be thrown into the sea, like the Father Commissary, but to go direct to his cell, and there live and die surrounded by his brethren. The Captain answered that it would certainly look very bad to leave the ship without a priest to attend to such spiritual needs as might arise. After the loss of the other priest, his companion, he was our curate; that he should not leave us without any one, but use charity, for which God would give him as much life as He gave health. To this he replied: "Let what may appear, appear: for I owe more to myself, and charity must begin at home." Other replies there were, which need not be repeated; and, with regard to what has been told, and what silence has been kept about it, the Captain said: "My Father, at the end of so long a voyage, let us be blind to our passions—we who have another voyage to make." On this, the Father threw himself at the feet of the Captain; and, without the Captain being able to stop him, owing to his weakness, he kissed both his groins. The Captain stretched himself out, as the Father had done, and kissed the soles of both his feet, saying: "I do not intend to be behind in this."

There were certain people who, for themselves and others, wished to be left on shore. The Captain said to this, that for the service they had done until now they might as well be on shore.

Another there was who asked the Captain to certify that he had not received royal pay, he himself having given it. He also wanted the title of Admiral while another did the duty. Many others each wanted to be the person to take the letters to the Viceroy, each alleging his own great merits. Owing to this, and for many other reasons which need not be specified, there were many disputes and complaints; from which it may be judged, as well as from all that has gone before, how much the discoveries cost, made

by the wills of men who thought little of discovering new lands.

There had come on the voyage, serving the Fathers, an Indian youth aged about twenty years, named Francisco, a native of Peru. He wore the habit of a lay brother, his life being one of self-denial. He was a humble, frugal, and grateful man, very peaceful, and so zealous for the good of the souls in the new discoveries that he wished to be left behind with them. He had a great love and respect for God, and in everything, however hard it might be, he conformed to His will. To all he showed a good disposition and pleasant countenance, did good for evil, never complained, or sought recompence nor treated of it. His example aroused envy in the mind of a soldier who was annoyed at hearing his virtues praised. So I say that there is no escape from the tongues of men, and whether high or low he has to receive their blows.

The feast of All Saints was approaching, which was one of the jubilee days of the voyage. For this all our people confessed, and an altar was prepared under a tent, having obtained hosts from a village called Utlan, and invited all the people in the farms to come. They came, Spaniards, Indians, and others, to hear the Mass said by our Father. Pedro and Pablo were on their knees, each one with a lighted torch, throwing light all the time that the sacrifice and the communion lasted. A few days afterwards this monk departed by land, while we got ready to go by sea.

Being very desirous of flying from this beach, and from the annoyance of such a quantity of mosquitos, sand-flies, and jiggers, which swarm in this port day and night, without the possibility of any defence from them, we made sail on the 16th of November.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The remainder of the voyage, and how the ship anchored in the port of Acapulco.

WE navigated with little wind to the purpose, and with land and sea breezes. For some time there was a current against us, and we were obliged to go in shore until we grounded on the beach of Citala. We touched bottom twice; but at last we came near the port, and a boat under sail and oars came out to know what ship we were. The Captain sent a messenger in the dingey, and ordered the boat to keep off until we anchored in the port of Acapulco, on the 23rd of November, 1606. We had only one death—that of the Father Commissary—and all were in good health. Thanks be to God for these and all His other mercies shown to us during the voyage!

It is to be noted that when from the bay the S.E. wind rushed upon us, it was not settled to come to New Spain, for which reason we did not come, as we might have done, to E.N.E. To cross the line 400 leagues further east than we crossed it, would have made a shorter passage. If the N.W. wind we had when we went from Taumaco to the bay is constant, it would be much shorter.

The following day was the Feast of St. Catherine the Martyr. The Captain left the ship with all his crew, following the royal standard, accompanied by many of the townspeople, and proceeded from the beach to the church. They brought Pedro and Pablo, both dressed in new clothes, to the font. Having said Mass, the Vicar gave them the oil and chrism, what they had not received before, because the ship was rolling so much when they were baptized. They returned to the ship in the same order.

A few days after our arrival, a ship came from the

Philippines with the news that Don Pedro de Acuña, the Governor of them, had taken the island of Ternate with little loss. This was very joyful news, and was celebrated here by ringing of bells and rejoicing of the people. In Mexico they made high festival, worthy of so desirable a victory. I say this, and hope there will be greater festivities for the discovery of so many islands it pleased God to show me. All is under one master, and it will be very just that they should be known to the world for the greater glory of God and honour of our Spain. Another ship also arrived, on board of which sixty-nine persons died at sea, of a great sickness that broke out during the voyage. I was told that, during the voyage, a fowl was bought for 2,400 reals and another for 3,200, yet the owners did not wish to sell.

Account of the solemnity with which the cross of orange wood was landed and received, that had been raised in the bay of St. Philip and St. James.

Fray Juan de Mendoza, Guardian of the Convent of Barefoot Franciscans in this port, with much endearment, asked the Captain for the cross of orange wood, being envious of the veneration with which it had been received by the two monks of his order on the day that it was set up in the bay of St. Philip and St. James. He said he wanted to receive it on the beach, and carry it in procession to his convent. Over this there was a very honourable and holy discussion, for the Vicar of the town wanted to receive it with the same reverence, to put it into the parish church. The question was argued by both sides; and, finally, owing to certain prayers, the Vicar gave up his claim, and the Captain gave it to the Guardian, to remain in his power.

On the day of the Conception of the Mother of God, the

Captain, with the greatest solemnity possible, took the cross from the ship to the sea shore, and delivered it to the said Father Guardians, with six other monks. They received it on their knees with much devotion, then forming in procession. On each side of the cross were Pedro and Pablo, with lighted torches. Behind were all the people of the town, carrying banner and box. So we marched to the convent. At the door of the church there was a Father in vestments. The Captain, who arrived first, was acting as mace-bearer until he came to where the Guardian was, who on his knees delivered the cross to him. The Captain gave it to the Father, who took it into the church and fastened it to the high altar, with ringing of bells at both churches, sound of trumpets, and discharge of guns and of arquebuses and muskets by the soldiers. All the people showed their joy; and not less did the Captain, although he had desired to go to Rome and put this cross in the hands of the Pontiff, and tell him that it was the first that had been raised in those new lands in the name of the Catholic Church. He wished to bring the natives as first-fruits, and to ask for all those and other great favours and concessions. It happened that events robbed him of this triumph: but he gave many thanks to God, through whose goodness he hopes to return the cross to the place whence it came.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

What happened to the Captain in Mexico, and in his voyage, until he arrived at the Court of Spain.

NO sooner had the crew disembarked, than there were persons who, to gratify their evil passions, wrote to the Marquis of Montes Claros, Viceroy of Mexico, and sowed

many letters all over the land, trying to misrepresent and discredit the expedition. I did my best to satisfy people through others, proclaiming my truthfulness and zeal. I sent one letter to the Viceroy, asking for orders respecting the disposal of the ship. They were that I was to deliver her to the royal officers at Acapulco, as she belonged to His Majesty. I did this, and left Acapulco on the first day of the year 1607, entering the city of Mexico on St. Anthony's Day. On that of St. Sebastian the Viceroy received me kindly, and by his order I made a report and narrative of all that had happened. Hearing that Don Luis de Velasco, who had been Viceroy of Peru at the time when I first proposed this voyage, was living near Mexico, I went to see him, and gave him an account of all that had happened. He gave me encouragement and showed me much kindness.

Pedro, who was in Mexico, was now very conversant in our language. He made certain very important statements in answer to questions asked of him, respecting his country and the surrounding regions; making known its extent, its food resources and riches, and how there were silver, gold, and pearls in abundance; and describing the idols they worship, their rites and ceremonies, and how they ordinarily converse with the Devil. Showing him some of our things, he gave the names for them in his language. But in a short time he died, and so did the other native, Pablo, who was a boy with a very beautiful countenance and disposition.

I again spoke with the Viceroy respecting my departure and my necessities. He gave me no remedy for them, but treated me with kindness, and said that he was about to go to Peru, where he had been appointed Viceroy, and that if I should return during his time he would issue good orders which all would obey, and that he felt an interest in my enterprise, which he understood to be a great affair. With

this he took leave of me, and the day of my departure arrived without my possessing a single dollar to set me on the road. But God helped me through the kindness of one Captain Gaspar Mendez de Vera and one Leonardo de Oria, in San Juan de Ulloa, who received me on board his ship. We arrived safely at Cadiz, where I landed. I sold my bed to reach San Lucar, where I pawned something else, which enabled me to go on to Seville. There I sold all I had left to sustain me, and with 500 reals given to me by Don Francisco Duarte, and other help from my companion, named Rodrigo Mejia, I arrived at Madrid on the 9th of October, 1607.

CHAPTER XL.

What happened to the Captain during this his last visit to the Court, until he negotiated the issue of an order for his despatch.

DURING the first eleven days after my arrival at the Court, I could not obtain the convenience for writing my memorials, nor succeed in getting an interview with the Count of Lemos, who was President of the Council of the Indies. At last he saw me, read much of this narrative, and said: "What right have we to these regions?" I replied: "The same right as we had to possess ourselves of the others." I had several other interviews with him, and he ordered me to kiss the hand of His Majesty, and that I should see the Duke of Lerma, which I did. I presented many and very difficult memorials, giving my reasons, and declaring my enterprise and its advantages, and soliciting and urging my despatch.

I had these memorials printed when I had the means; and when I had not, they were copied, presented and distributed among the members of the Councils of State, of

War, and of the Indies, and the Ministers. Most of them received the memorials well, and seemed to value them; but not for this did my despatch progress any faster. On the contrary, on the 6th of March, 1608, His Majesty, through the Duke of Lerma, sent a long memorial to the Council of the Indies, by which my affairs were treated carelessly and harshly, because on the first occasion they had been managed by the Council of State. In effect, they told me that I should receive their reply from Don Francisco de Tejada, who was a member of the said Council of the Indies. He told me that I should return to Peru, to the city of the Kings; and that there the Viceroy would give orders as to what was to be done. I answered that it would not be well to send me on so long a voyage, on so serious a business, without knowing what would be done. So I went on sending my memorials, and I had hopes for better success: because, at that time, the Council received a letter, which Juan de Esquirel, Master of the Camp at Ternate, wrote to the Audience of the city of Manilla, in which he said that there had arrived in that port a vessel, whose Captain was one Luis *Velez* de Torres, said to be one of the three under the command of the Captain Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, with which he left Peru to discover the unknown parts to the south. "He says he parted company 1,500 leagues from here, and had coasted along for 800 leagues of a land. He arrived in want, and I supplied him with what I could. He goes to Manilla, and will send a more particular account to your Highness."

Afterwards, I saw the narrative of the voyage of Luis *Vaez*, in possession of the Constable of Castille, which gave me great pleasure, and incited me to send in more memorials, praying for my despatch, and for the things that must be conceded with a view to it. But my ill-luck was so great, that I could never get anything settled. All appeared to point

to my detention, and at times I was depreciated by the Ministers, and especially by those of the Council of the Indies; for I always found more recognition from those of the Council of State.

Seeing this, I procured another audience of His Majesty, and obtained what I wanted, on Epiphany, in the year 1609, after dinner, being favoured in this, as in other things, by the Marquis of Velada. I showed my papers, maps and sea-charts: explained which were the lands I proposed to seek, and their grandeur; and related the events of the voyages I had already made. Having seen all my demonstrations with interest, he rose; and, asking for my despatch, the Marquis answered that all would be well.

So, on the 7th of February, a decree was issued really treating of this business, and granting me some money in aid. After several consultations, and an order for me to frame an estimate of the expenses of the expedition, another decree came out, passing the business on to the Council of the Indies; where I had to begin all over again, and at the end of many months an order was given to me, according to the following tenor:

Royal Order.

The King.—To the Marquis of Montes Claros, my cousin, my Viceroy, Governor, and Captain-General of the provinces of Peru; or to the person or persons in whose charge the government may be. The Captain Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, who, as you have been informed, is the person who has undertaken the discovery of the unknown land in the south, has represented to me how that, I having ordered the necessary despatch through my Council of State, for him to make the said discoveries, and that the Viceroys, your predecessors, were to supply him with all that was necessary for the voyage, he sailed with this object from the port of Callao on the 21st of December, of the year 1605, with two ships and a launch, having on board crews and the rest that was needed, and steered W.S.W. until he reached the latitude of 26° S., by which course, and by others, he discovered twenty islands—twelve inhabited by various tribes—and three-parts of a land which he conceived to be all one, and suspected to be conti-

nental, and a great bay with a good port within it; whence he sailed with the three vessels, with the object of exploring a great and high chain of mountains to the S.W.; and in returning to the said port the *Almiranta* and the launch anchored. But the *Capitana*, in which he was, could not, and was driven out; for which cause, and for many others which obliged him, he arrived at the Port of Acupulco, whence he came to Spain to give me an account of the success of the voyage, in the year 1607. He stated that the land he had discovered was pleasant, temperate, and yielding many different kinds of fruits; the people domestic and disposed to receive our Holy Faith; and that what was left to be seen and discovered is much more beyond comparison. With great perseverance he has prayed and supplicated me to consider the importance of this discovery and settlement, and the great service it will be to our Lord that this land should be settled and the Faith planted in it, bringing to the bosom of the Church and to a knowledge of the truth such an infinite number of souls as there are in that new world, where he has taken possession in a good port, and celebrated Mass; as well as the usefulness and aggrandizement that will result to my crown, and to all my kingdoms. His object and intention is no more than to perform this service to our Lord, and to follow that cause which he had served for so many years, suffering shipwrecks and hardships; it is now ordered that he be provided with all things necessary again to make that voyage and form a settlement; for which it is necessary that he should have a thousand men of this kingdom, of which twelve to be monks of the Order of St. Francis, or Capuchins, who must be learned, with the necessary powers, and provided with requisites and ornaments; also six Brothers of St. John of God, medical man, surgeon, barbers, and medicines; and that in these provinces he be given ships, artillery, muskets, arquebuses, and other weapons and stores that may be necessary; also a quantity of things for bartering with natives, a good store of iron in sheets, and tools to cultivate the land and work mines.[1]

By reason of my great desire that the said discovery and settlement should take effect, for the good of the souls of those natives, I have ordered the said Captain Pedro Fernandez de Quiros to return to Peru by the first opportunity; and I charge and order you that as soon as he arrives you are to make arrangements for his despatch, and provide all he requires for the voyage, by account of my royal treasury, so that it may be done with all speed, not offering any obstacle, but giving all the supplies necessary, and orders that he may be obeyed by all who go with him and under his command; and let all else be done that is convenient and usual in making other similar voyages, discoveries, and settle-

[1] 6,000 quintals in the second Order.

ments. I order the officers of my royal revenues to comply in conformity with this decree; and for this compliance this is my command.[1] I again charge you to despatch the Captain Quiros well and speedily; and you advise me that you have done so, for I shall be pleased to know it, honouring, favouring, and treating him well: for in this you will serve me. I, the King. By command of the King our Lord.—Gabriel de Hoa. Witnessed by those of the Council.

Copy of a letter which the Secretary, Gabriel de Hoz, sent to the Viceroy with the Royal Order.

Captain Quiros returns to the kingdom with the enclosed despatch, in pursuance of his discovery:—"I have assisted here in this cause with much trouble and inconvenience, and with great zeal, for the service of our Lord and of His Majesty. Your Excellency animates, enforces, and helps this enterprise in furtherance of the orders of His Majesty, whose will is that Captain Quiros shall have quick despatch and good treatment, which your Excellency will know how to extend to one whose labours and voyages merit recognition, and who again offers himself for other greater labours. May our Lord guard your Excellency as I desire.—Madrid, December 19th, 1609."

CHAPTER XLI.

Of what the Captain did after he had received this Order, and how he was given another.

I WAS not satisfied with this Order, because it was confused, and did not give me the power that was necessary to order myself what was necessary for my despatch; and because in effect it left it open for the Viceroy to order from what port in Peru I should sail as he might choose. Remembering how badly the orders and decrees of His Majesty are complied with in distant provinces, even when they are very imperative, I began again to send in more memorials

[1] In the second Order:—"In this kingdom I have ordered 6,000 ducats in aid of expenses on the way out, and 3,000 quintals of iron to be bought at Seville, and sent out."

representing these inconveniences, and declaring that 500,000 ducats were required for my undertaking, and for what I had to spend and distribute; and I sent in a detailed account of how I had spent what was given me for the last expedition.

Don Francisco de Tejada told me that there were not wanting those who considered that the despatch they had given me was well enough. I replied that it must have been measured out according to my small merits, not according to the grandeur and necessities of the work. So I went on sending in more and more memorials to His Majesty, his Councils and Councillors, until in the month of May I was sent for by the Secretary, Antonio de Aroztegui, who told me that things had been arranged as I wished, as regards the terms of the Order and the expenses. I answered that the expenses of a cabin boy were enough for me personally if the despatch was good; that I did not put a price on my services. With this object I began new memorials to the Council of State, and when I thought that I was about to secure my desires, the business was again turned over to the Council of the Indies. In this Council, as the feeling was cold towards me and my cause, they turned and twisted much that His Majesty had ordered. On the 1st of November, 1610, they gave me an Order of the following tenor:—

Revised Royal Order.

The King. To the Marquis of Montes Claros, my cousin, my Viceroy and Captain General of the provinces of Peru, or to the person or persons in whose charge their government may be.[1] . . . . . .

Dated at San Lorenzo, the 1st of November, 1610. I the King. By order of the King our Lord, Pedro de Ledesma.

[1] Same as the former Order, except that 6,000 ducats are granted for expenses on the way out; and the quantity of sheet iron is specified and ordered to be bought at Seville.

CHAPTER XLII.

Of what the Captain did after having received the above Order.

SEEING the weakness of the new Royal Order, and that there was wanting in it many things for which I had stipulated and which I held to be important for my enterprise, I again renewed my representations to the Council of State that they might be conceded to me, and sent in several memorials with this object, and others to represent the harm done to the enterprise by the delay; that now the English and Dutch would hear of it, and that if we did not occupy first, they might get those lands and seas into their power. The result was that I was detained longer, with an Order that a certain quantity of money was to be allowed to me each month for my sustenance, and 300 ducats to pay my debts, which was insufficient. Other help was given me by the good secretary, Antonio de Aroztegui.

I also submitted a memorial in which I proposed the way that, in my opinion, the discovery, settlement, and government of those nations should be conducted; avoiding the evils which, by adopting other ways, had accompanied former discoveries. All this was heard and received well, but unluckily my despatch was delayed, and at the end of many years[1] the Secretary, Juan de Eiriza, read to me and gave me a letter to this effect: "Resolved by His Majesty in the business of Captain Quiros, that in an affair of such magnitude it is necessary to proceed circumspectly, and to be sure of the consequences of each step. His Majesty will rejoice that half should be given for the discovery desired by Quiros. For this he is to return to Peru, and follow the

[1] Months (?).

instructions given to him by the Viceroy, with the assurance that they will be such as if he alone had the conduct of the discovery." To this decree I answered what appeared convenient, referring to my honour and that of the cause; and declaring that I could not go except with sufficient papers and securities very clearly and positively drawn up.

But the more time slipped away the more my claims went back, owing to those who were against me, and the little confidence they had in myself and in my promises. As the Council of State would not decide anything without first referring it to the Council of the Indies, my prospects became worse. Don Luis de Velasco, who had come as President of that Council, instead of helping me, owing to having been the person who first received my project in Peru, and to having received such full notice of it, was the least favourable. Finally, Don Francisco de Borja, Prince of Esquilache, having been appointed Viceroy of Peru, both Councils concurred in giving me an order to go out with him, assuring me that he had an urgent order from His Majesty to despatch me as soon as I should arrive at Callao, and to arrange for everything that was necessary for my voyage. On this subject there was a meeting in the house of the President of the Council of the Indies, at which the new Viceroy was present. He assured me that what I wanted would certainly be done: that he was able to promise; and that if there was any wrong in the business of my despatch, it was not to be charged to him for the value of the whole world, because he was jealous of his reputation.

With this, and seeing that in so many years I could not negotiate anything else, and that my life and patience were worn out, I determined to put into his hands my life and work. He said: "Trust me, and see what I shall do." Afterwards I spoke with him several times, and made him thoroughly acquainted with my affairs, and with what was

necessary for them. I had been anxious to send to Rome to ask for certain grants from His Holiness. I petitioned, and the Prince gave me the following certificate:

Don Francisco de Borja, Prince of Esquilache, Count of Mayalda, Gentleman of the Chamber of the King our Lord, and his Viceroy and Captain-General of his kingdoms of Peru: I certify that His Majesty has ordered me to take in my company the Captain Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, that I may despatch him from the Port of Callao to the settlement of the southern region; and that this will be when I may judge it to be convenient, and the state of affairs in Peru makes it proper to carry it out.—Given in Madrid on the 21st of October, 1614.

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